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From all which it is plain, and will be plainer to those who read these Authors at large, that it is Heretical to believe One God in a Jewish and Sabellian (I may add now in a Mahometan and Socinian) Sense, as well as Three Gods in a Gentile and Pagan, or Marcionite and Valentinian; and that Christianity is between those Extrems, believing One God the Father, a Son, who is God begotten of him, and a Holy Ghost, who is God proceeding from both. I conclude with a Quotation which the Learned Reader will understand the full Purport of: *Εἰ τὸ θεὸς ὄνομα προσώπων διωριστικὸν ὑπάρχει, τεῖς πρόσωπα λέγοντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρεῖς ἀν' ἐλέγομεν θεοὺς, εἰ δὲ θεὸς ὄνομα ἑστέας σημαίνον ἐστὶ μίαν ἑστέαν ἐμολογούμενος τῆς ἀγίας τριῖδος ἓνα θεὸν εὐκρίτως δοξάζομεν*. Greg. Nyssen. adv. Gre. T. 2. p. 82.

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 IN
 Great Britain,
 Before the COMING of His HIGHNESS the
 PRINCE of Orange.
 [By Robert Ferguson.]

With an Account of the *Arbitrary and Popish Ends*, unto
 which the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* in England, and the
Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland, were designed.

Neque enim satis amant bonos Principes, qui malos satis non oderint.
Plin. in Panegy. c. 53.
Sedem obtinet Principis, non sit Domino locus. id. ibid. c. 55.
Tantum tibi licet, quantum per leges licebit, Pacat. ad Theodos. August.

Printed in the Year, 1689.

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With an Account of the Petition and Petition Book, unto
 which the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in England, and the
 Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland, were delivered.

By John Wallis, Secretary to the Protestant Dissenting Ministers.
 London: Printed by J. Wallis, at the Sign of the Cross, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1689.

Printed in the Year 1689.

THEY are great Strangers to the Transactions of the World, who know not how many and various the attempts of the *Papists* have been, both to hinder all endeavours towards a *Reformation*, and to overthrow and subvert it where it hath obtained and prevailed. For beside the innumerable Executions and Murders committed by means of the *Inquisition* to crush and stifle the *Reformed Religion* in its rise and birth, and to prevent its succeeding and settlement in *Spain, Italy*, and many other *Territories*; there is no *Kingdom* or *State*, where it hath so far prevailed as to come to be universally received and legally established, but it hath been through strange and wonderful conflicts with the rage and malice of the *Church of Rome*. The Persecutions which the *Primitive Christians* underwent by virtue of the *Edicts* of the *Pagan Emperors*, were not more sanguinary and cruel than what through the *Laws and Ordinances* of *Popish Princes*, have been inflicted upon those, who have testified against the Heresies, Superstitions, and Idolatries, and have withdrawn from the Communion of the *Papal Church*. Nor were the *Martyrs* that suffered for the Testimony of *Jesus* against *Heathenism*, either more numerous or worthier of esteem for Virtue, Justice and Piety; than they who have been slaughtered, upon no other pretence, but for Endeavouring to restore the *Christian Religion* to the simplicity and purity of its Divine and first Institution, and to recover it from the corruptions, wherewith it was become universally tainted in Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline. How have all the Nations in *Europ.* been soak'd with the Blood of Saints, through the Barbarous Rage of *Popish Rulers*, whom the *Roman Bishops* and *Clergy* stirred up and instigated, in order to support themselves in their secular Grandure, and in their Tyranny over the Consciences of Men, and to keep the World in Slavery under

Ignorance, Errors, Superstition, and Idolatry; which the reducing *Christianity* again to the Rule of the Gospel, would have redeemed mankind from, and been an effectual means to have dissipated and subverted? They of the *Roman Communion*, having strangely corrupted the *Christian Religion* in its Faith, Worship, and Discipline, and having prodigiously altered it, from what it was in the Doctrines and Institutions of our *Saviour* and his *Apostles*; they found no other way whereby to sustain their Errors and Corruptions, and to preserve themselves in the possession of that Empire, which they had usurped over Conscience, and in the enjoyment of the Wealth and Secular Greatness, which by working upon the Ignorance, Superstition, Lusts, and Prophaneness of People, they had skrewed and wound themselves into, but by adjudging all who durst detect or oppose them, to Fire and Sword, or to Miseries, to which Death in its worst shape were preferable. Nor have they for the better obstructing the growth, and compassing the Extirpation of the *Reformed Religion*, committed either the Arts and Subtilties of *Judas*, or the Fury and Violence of *Galerius* and *Diocletian*. Whosoever hath not observed the Craft and Rage that have been employed and exerted against *Protestants* for these 170 years, must have been very little Conversant in Histories, and strangely overlook't the conduct of Affairs in the World, and the Transactions in Churches and States, during their own time. And tho' the *Papists* do not think it fit, to put their *Maxims* for preserving the *Catholic Religion*, and converting *Hereticks*, in Execution at all times, and in every place, yet some of their Writers are so ingenious, as to tell us the reason of it, and that they do not forbear it upon Principles of *Christianity* or good Nature, but upon Motives of Policy and Fear, lest the cutting one of our Throats might enlarge two of their own. However they have been careful not to suffer a period of twenty

years to elapse since the beginning of the Reformation, without affording us in some place or another, renewed evidences of *Papal* Charity, and of the *Roman* method of hindring the growth of Heresie, either by a Massacre, War, or Persecution, begun, and executed, upon no other account or provocation, but merely that of our Religion, and because we cannot believe and practice in the matters of God, as they do. And having obtained of late, great Advantages for the pursuing their malice against us, more boldly and avowedly than at another Season, and that not only through a strange Concurrence and Conjunction of *Princes* in the *Papal* Communion, who are more intoxicated with their Superstitions and Idolatries, or less wise, merciful, and humane, than some of their Predecessors of that Fellowship were, but through having obtained a *Prince* intirely devoted unto them, and under the implicate Guidance of their Priests, to be advanced unto a Throne, where such sometime used to sit, as were the Terror of *Rome*, the Safeguard of the Reformed Religion, and the Sanctuary of oppressed Protestants; they have thereupon both assumed a Courage of stirring up new and unprecedented Persecutions in divers places, against the most useful, best and loyallest of Subjects, upon no other Charge or Allegation, but for dissenting from the *Tridentine* Faith, and denying Subjection to the Tripple Crown, and are raised into a Confidence of wholly Extirpating *Protestancy*, and of re-establishing the *Papal* Tyrannys and Superstition in the several Countries whence they had been expelled, or stood so Pressed and Discountenanced, as that the Votaries and Partizans of their Church, had not the Sway and Domination. Nor need we any other Conviction both of their Design, and of their Confidence of Succeeding in it, than what they have already done, and continue to pursue in *France*, *Hungary*, and *Piedmont*, where their prospering to such a degree in their Cruel and Barbarous Attempts, not only gives them boldness of entertaining thoughts

of taking the like Methods, and Acting by the same measures, in all places where they find Rulers at their beck, and under their Influence, but to unite and provoke all *Papal Monarchs* to enter into a Holy War against Protestants every where, that by Conquering and Subduing those States and Kingdoms where the Reformed Religion is received and established, they may extirpate it out of the World, under the Notion of the Northern Heresie. If Principles of Humanity, Maxim of Interest, Rules of Policy, Obligations of Gratitude, Ties of Royal and Princely Faith, or the repeated Promises, Oaths, Edicts and Declarations of Sovereigns, could have been a Security to Protestants, for the Profession of their Faith, and Exercise of their Worship, in the forementioned Territories and Dominions, they had all that could be rationally desired, for their Safety and Protection, in the free and open profession and practice of their Religion; whereas by a Violation of all that is Sacred among men, of a binding Vertue unto Princes (except Chains and Fetters) or that confer a Right, Claim and Security unto Subjects, the poor Protestants in those Places, have been, and still are Persecuted with a Rage and Barbarity, which no Age can parallel, and for which it is difficult to find words proper and severe enough, whereby to stamp a Character of Infamy upon the Treacherous, Cruel and savage Authors, Promoters, and Instruments of it. Nor do's it proceed from a Malignancy of Nature peculiar to the Emperor, the French King, and the Duke of Savoy, above what is in other Princes of the same Communion, or that they are more regardless of Fame, and less concerned how future Generations will brand their Memories, than other *Papal Monarchs* seem to be, that they have suffered themselves to be prevailed upon, to violate the Promises and Oaths they were bound by to their Protestant Subjects; seeing the Emperor is Character'd for a person of a meek and gentle temper, and of the goodness of whose Nature, there remain some shadows, inter-

interwoven with the bloody streaks of the *Hungarian* Persecution. And the *French King* tho' he stand not much commended for sweetness and Benignity of disposition, is known to be unmeasurably Ambitious, of having his name transmitted to Posterity in Letters of Greatness and Honor, which his behaviour towards his Subjects of the Reformed Religion, is no ways adapted unto, but calculated to make him hereafter listed with *Nero* and *Julian*. As to the *Duke of Savoy*, there seems by the whole course of his other Actions, to be a certain Greatness of Mind in him, not easily consisting with that savage and brutal temper, which the Cruelties he hath exercised upon the Protestants in *Piedmont*, would intimate and denote. But it ariseth from the Mischievousness and Pestilency of their Religion, their Ignorance in it, and their having put themselves so entirely under the conduct of the Clergy, particularly of the *Jesuites*, who are for the most part a set of men, especially the latter, that through acting in the prospect of no other Ends, but the Grandure, Wealth, and Domination of the Church of *Rome*, do with an unlimited rage, and a peculiar kind of Malice, persecute all that have renounced Fellowship with it, and are not if they Sacrifice the Honor, Glory and Safety of *Monarchs*, and bring their Kingdoms into contempt and desolation, by making them weak, poor, and dispeopled, provided they may wreck their spleen, and revenge, upon those, whose Religion is not only dissimilar from theirs, but should it prevail to be the Religion of the Legislators and Rulers of Nations, those springs of Wealth would be immediately dried up, by which their Superior Clergy, and all their Religious Orders are enriched and fed up in idleness. And should the People come to be generally imbued with principles of Gospel, Light and Liberty, they would immediately shake off a blind and slavish Dependency upon Pope and Priests, and thereby subvert the Foundation upon which the Monarchical Grandure of the *Romish Church*

and their whole Religion is superstructed, and destroy the Engine by which they are enabled to Lord it over the Bodies, Estates, and Consciences of Men. And if Protestants every where, especially under *Popish* Rulers, were not under a strange Infatuation, they would look for no fairer Quarter from *Papists*, than what their Brethren have met with in *France* and *Piedmont*, nor would they rely upon the Faith of any King, that styles himself a *Roman Catholic*. Seeing Sacred Promises, Tremendous Oaths, and the most Authentick Declarations, are but *Papal Arts*, and Tricks Sanctified at *Rome*, whereby to lull Subjects into a Security, and delude them into a neglect of all means, for preserving themselves, and their Religion, till their Rulers can be in a condition, of obeying the Decrees of the fourth *Lateran Council*, that enjoyns Kings to destroy and Extirpate Hereticks, under pain of Excommunication, and of having both their Subjects absolved from Allegiance to them, and their Territories given away to others; and till without running any hazard, they may comply with the Ordinances of the Council of *Constance*, which not only releases them from all Obligation of keeping Faith to Hereticks, but requires them to violate it; and accordingly made *Sigismund* break his Faith to *John Hus*, whom in defiance of the Security given him by that King, they caused to be Condemned and Burnt. Nor is the Practice and late Example of the *Great Louis*, designed for less than a Pattern, by which all *Popish Princes* are to act, and his Proceedings are to be the Copy and Model, which they who would merit the name of Zealous Catholics, and be esteemed dutiful Sons of the Church, are to transcribe and limn out in Lines of Force, Violence, and Blood, and for the better corresponding with the Original, to imploy *Dragoons* for Missionaries.

And though I will not say, but that there may be some *Popish Princes*, who through an extraordinary measure of good Nature, and from principles of Compassion, woven into their Constitution, previously to all notice,

tices of Revelation whether real, or pretended, and who through Sentiments imbib'd from a Generous Education, and their coming afterwards to be under the Influence, and Management, of Wise and Discreet Counsellors, may be able to resist the Malignant Impressions of their Religion, and so be preserved, from the Inhumanities towards those of different Persuasions from them in the things of God, which their *Priests* would lay them under Obligations unto, by the Doctrines of the *Romish Faith*; yet there appears no reason why an understanding man should be induced to believe, that the *King of England*, is likely to prove a *Prince*, of that great and Noble Temper, there being more than enough, both to raise a Jealousie and beget a Periwaiion, that there is not a *Monarch* among all those who are commonly stiled *Catholicks*, from whom *Protestants* may justly dread greater Severities, than from *Him*, or look for worse and more Barbarous Treatments. I am not ignorant, with what Candor, we ought by the Rules of Charity and good Manners, to speak of all Men, whatsoever their Religion is, nor am I unacquainted with what Veneration and Deference, we are to Discourse of Crowned Heads; but as I dare not give those flattering Titles unto any, of which there are not a few in some of the late *Addresses*, presented to the *King*, by an inconsiderable and foolish sort of *Dissembling* Preachers; so I should not know, how to be accountable to God, my own Conscience, or the World, should I not in my station as a *Protestant*, and as a Lover of the Laws and Liberties of my Countrey, offer something, whereby both to undeceive that weak and short-sighted People, whom their own being accommodated for a Season by the *Declaration of Indulgence*, hath deluded into an Opinion, that His Majesty cherisheth no thoughts of Subverting our *Religion*, and also further to enlighten and confirm others, in the just Apprehensions they are possessed with, of the design carrying on in *Great Britain*, and *Ireland*, for the Extirpation of *Protestancy*, and

that the late *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, is omitted in subterfuge thereunto and calculated by the Court, toward the paving and Preparing the Way, for the most facile accomplishment of it. And while Mercenary *Sycophants*, by their Flatteries infect and corrupt Princes, and by their Representing them to the World, in Colours disagreeable from their Tempers and Dispositions and in milder and fairer Characters, than any thing observable in them, either deserveth or correspondeth with, do delude Subjects into such Opinions of them, as beget a neglect of means for preserving themselves 'tis become a necessary Duty, and an indispensable Service to Mankind, to deal plainly and above board, that so by describing *Kings* as they are, and setting them in a true and just Light, we may prevent the Peoples being further imposed upon, or if through suffering themselves to be still deceived, they come to fall under Miseries and Persecutions they may lay all their Distresses, and Desolations, at the door of their own folly, in not having taken care, how to avoid, what they were not only threatened with, but where they were warned and advertised. For as I am not of *Sir Roger L'Estranges* mind, That if we cannot avoid History of being distrustful of our Safety, the Times yet it is extremely vain, foolish, and extravagant to talk of it; so I am very sensible how many of the *French Ministers* by Painting forth their *King* more like God than a Man, and by possessing their People with a belief of Wisdom, Justice, Grace and Mercy in *Him*, of which they knew him destitute, they both emboldned *Him*, to attempt what he hath perpetrated, and laid them under Snares, which they knew not how to disentangle themselves from in order to escape it. Nor would the *King of England*, have acted with that neglect of the future Safety of the *Papists*, nor have exposed them to the resentment, and hereafter revenge of three Nations, by the Arbitrary and Illegal steps he hath made in their favour, if he intended any thing less than

than the putting *Protestants* for ever out of capacity and condition, of calling them to a reckoning, and exacting an account of them, which neither *He*, nor they about him, can have the weakness to think they have sufficiently provided against, without compelling us by an *Order of à la mode France Missionaries* to turn *Catholics*, or by adjudging us to *Mines* and *Galleys*, according to the *Versailles* President, for our Heretical Stubbornness, or which is the more expeditious way of converting three Kingdoms, to cause to be murder'd the *Protestant* Inhabitants, according to the pattern, which his Loyal high *Catholic*, endeavour'd to have set *anno* 1641. for the conversion of that Nation. Had his Majesty been contented with the bare avowing, and publishing himself to be of the Communion of the Church of Rome, and of challenging a Liberty, tho against Law, for the Exercise of his Religion, it might have awakened our Pity, and Compassion, to see him embrace a Religion, where there are so many impediments of Salvation, and in doing whereof, he was become obnoxious unto the imprecation of his Grandfather, who wished the curse of God, to fall upon such of his Posterity, as should at any time turn *Papist*; but it would have raised no intemperate heats in the minds of any against him, much less have alienated them, from the Subjection and Obedience, which are due unto their Sovereign, by the Laws of the several Kingdoms, and the Fundamental Rules of the respective Constitutions. Or could he have been contented, with waiving the rigorous Execution of the Laws against *Papists*, of whatsoever Quality, Rank, or Order they were, and with the bestowing personal, and private Favours, upon those of his Religion: it would have been so far from begetting rancor or discontent in his *Protestant* Subjects, that they would not only have connived at, and approved such a procedure, and those little Benignities and Kindnesses, but had the *Papists* quietly acquiesced in them, and modestly improved them, it might have been a means of re-

conciling the Nation to more lenity towards them for the future, and might have influenced our Legislators, when God shall vouchsafe us a *Protestant* on the Throne, to moderate the Severities to which by the Laws in being they are obnoxious, and to render their condition as easie, and safe, as that of other Subjects, and only to take care, for precluding them such places of power, and trust, as should prevent their being able to hurt us, but could bring no damage or inconvenience upon themselves. But the King instead of terminating here, and allowing only such Graces and Immunities to the *Papists*, as would have been enough, for the placing them in the private Exercise of their Religion, with Security to them, and without any threatening danger to us. He hath not only suspended all the penal Laws against *Roman Catholics*, but He hath by an usurped Prerogative, that is paramount to the Rules of the Constitution, and to all Acts of Parliament, dispensed with, and disabled the Laws that enjoyn the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and which appoint and prescribe the Tests, that were the Fences, which the Wisdom of the Nation had erected, for preserving the Legislative Authority, securing the Government, and keeping places of Power, Magistracy and Office in the Hands of *Protestants*, and thereby of continuing the *Protestant Religion*, and English Liberties, to our selves, and the generations that shall come after us. And as if this were not sufficient, to awaken us to a consideration of the danger we are in, of having our Religion supplanted and overthrown; He hath not only advanced the most violent *Papists*, unto all places of Military command by Sea and Land; but hath established many of them, in the Chief Trusts and Offices of Magistracy, and Civil Judicature, so that there are scarce any continued in Power and Employment, save they who have either promised, to turn *Roman Catholics*, or who have engaged, to concur and assist to the subverting our Liberties, and Religion under the Mask and disguise of *Protestants*.

3 'Tis already evident, that it is beyond the help, and relief, of all Peaceable and Civil means, to preserve and uphold the *Protestant Religion* in *Ireland*, and that nothing but force and an intestine War, can retrieve it unto, and reestablish it there, in any degree of safety. Nor is it less apparent, from the Arbitrary and Tyrannous *Order*, ordained to be required of His *Majesties Protestant Subjects* in *Scotland*, whereby they are to swear *Obedience to Him without Reserve*, that our *Religion* is held only precariously in that *Kingdom*; and that whensoever he shall please to command the establishment of *Papery*, and to enjoin the people to enter into the Communion of the *Church of Rome*, He expects to have his Will immediately conformed unto, and not to be disputed or controlled. But lest what we are to expect from the *King*, as to the extirpation of the *Reformed Religion*, and the inflicting the utmost Severities upon his *Protestant Subjects*, that Papal rage, armed with power, can inable him unto, may not so fully appear, from what hath been already intimated, as either to awaken the *Dissenters* out of the *Lethargy*, into which the late *Declaration* hath cast them, or to quicken those of the *Church of England*, to that zealous care, vigilancy, and use of all Lawful means, for preserving themselves, and the *Protestant Religion*, that the impending danger, wherewith they are threatned; requires at their hands; I shall give that farther Confirmation of it, from *Topicks* and motives of *Credibility*, *Moral*, *Political*, and *Historical*, as may serve to place it in the brightest light, and fullest evidence, that a matter future and yet to come, which is only the object of our prospect and dread, and root of our feeling and experience, is capable of.

2 It ought to be of weight upon the minds of all *English Protestants*, that the *King of Great Britain*, is not only an open and avowed *Papist*, but as most *Apostates* use to be, a fiery *Bigot* in the *Romish Religion*, and who as the *Leige Letter* from a *Jesuite* to a *Brother* of the *Order* tell us, is resolved either to

convert *England* to *Papery*, or to die a *Martyr*. Nor were the *Jewish* zealots, of whose rageful transports, *Josephus* gives us so ample an account, nor the *Druides* among the *Turks* and *Indians*, of whose mad attempts, so many *Histories* make mention, more brutal in their fanatical Heats, than a *Popish Bigot* useth to be, when favoured with advantages, of exerting his animosity against those who differ from him, if he be not carefully watched against, and restrained. Beside the innumerable instances of the Tragical Effects of *Romish Bigotry*, that are to be met with in Books of all kinds, we need go no further for an evidence of it, than to consult the Life of *Dominick*, the great Instigator and Promoter of the Massacre of the *Wildeneses*, and the Founder of that *Order* Which hath the Management of the *Blood Inquisition*; together with the Life of *Henry* the third of *France*, who contrary to the advice of *Maximilian* the *Emperor*, and the repeated intreaties of the wisest of his own Councillors, the *Chancellor de P. Hospital*, and the *President de Thou*, not only revived the War and Persecution against his *Reformed Subjects*, after he had seen what Judgments the like proceedings had derived upon his Predecessors, and how prejudicial they had proved to the Strength, Glory, and Interest of his *Crown* and *Kingdom*, but he entered into a *League* with those that sought to depose, abdicate, and depose him, and became the Head of a Faction for the destroying that part of his Subjects, upon whom alone he could rely for the defence of his person and support of his Dignity. Nor were the Furies of the *Duke de Alva* heretofore, or the present Barbarities of *Louis* the *Fourteenth*, so much the effects of their haughty and furious tempers, as of their *Bigotry* in their inhumane and sanguinary Religion. That the *King of England*, is second to none, in a blind and rageful *Popish Zeal*, his behaviour both while a Subject, and since he arrived at the *Crown*, doth not only place it beyond the limits of a bare suspicion, but affords us such evidences of it, as that none

in consistency with principles of wisdom, and discretion, can either question or contradict it. To what else can we ascribe it, but to an excessive *Bigotry*, that when the *Frigate* wherein he was sailing to *Scotland* Anno 1682. struck upon the Sands, and was ready to sink, he should prefer the Lives of one or two pitiſul *Priests*, to those of men of the greatest *Quality*, and receive those *Mulhrom's* into the Boat, in which himself escaped, while at the same time, he refused to admit, not only his own *Brother-in-Law*, but divers *Noblemen* of the Supreamest Rank, and Character, to the benefit of the same means of deliverance, and suffered them to perish, though they had undertaken the Voyage out of pure respect to his person, and to put an Honour upon him, at a Season, when he wanted not Enemies. Nor can it proceed from any thing but a violent and furious *Bigotry*, that he should not only dishonour and dishonour the two *Universities*, of whose Zeal to his service, he hath received so many seasonable and effectual Testimonies, but to the violation both of the *Laws* of God and the *Kingdom*, offer force to their Consciences, as well as to their Rights and Franchises, and all this in favour of *Father Francis*, whom he would illegally thrust into a Fellowship in *Cambridge*, and of *Mr. Farmer*, whom he would arbitrarily obtrude into the *Headship* of a College in *Oxford*, who as they are too despicable to be owred, and stood for, in competition against two famous *Universities*, whose greatest crime, hath been an excess of zeal for his person, and interest, when he was *Duke of York*, and a measure of Loyalty, and Obedience, unto him, since he came to the *Crown*, beyond what either the Rules of Christianity, or the Laws of the *Kingdom*, exact from them; so he hath ways enough of expressing kindness and bounty, to those two little contemptible Creatures, and that in methods as beneficial to them, as the places into which he would thrust them, can be supposed to amount unto, and I am sure with less scandal to himself, and less offence to all *Pro-*

testants, as well as without offering injury to the Rights of the *University*, or of compelling those learned, grave, and venerable men, to perjure themselves, and act against their Duties and Consciences. The late proceedings towards *Dr. Burnet*, are not only contrary to all the measures of Justice, Law, and Honour, but argue a strange and furious *Bigotry* in His Majesty for *Pope-ry*, there being nothing else into which a man can resolve the whole tenor of his present Actions against Him. Seeing setting aside the *Doctor's* being a *Protestant*, and a Minister of the Church of *England*, and his having vindicated the Reformation in *England*, from the Calumnies, and slanders, wherewith it was aspersed by *Sanders*, and others, of the *Roman* Communion, and the approving himself in some other Writings, worthy of the Character of a *Reformed Divine*, and of that esteem which the World entertains of him, for knowledge in History, and all other parts of good learning; there hath nothing occurred in the whole tenor and trace of his Life, but what instead of Rebuke and Censure, hath merited acknowledgments, and the Retributions of Favour and Preferment from the *Court*. Whosoever considers, his constant Preaching up passive Obedience to such a degree and height, as he hath done, may very well be surpris'd at the whole method of their present actions towards him, and at the same time that they find cause to justify the Righteousness of God, in making them the Instruments of his persecution, whom in so many ways he had sought to oblige, they may justly conclude that none save a *Bigotted Papist* could be the Author of so insupportable, as well as illegal, and unrighteous returns. For as to all whereof he is accused, in the *Criminal Letters* against him, bearing date the 19. of *April* 1687. I my self am both able to assert his innocence, and dare assure the World, that none of the persons whom he is charged to have conspired with against the *King*, would have been so far void of discretion, (knowing his principles) as to have transacted with him,

him in matters of that kind ; but whether his Letters since that, to the *Earl of Middleton*, with the *Paper*, inclosed in one of them, have administered any *Legal* ground for their *Second Citation*, I shall not take upon me to determine, and will only say, that as I heartily wish, he had not in those *Letters* afforded them, any probable pretence, for proceeding against him, so there are excesses of *Loyalty* in them, to attonie for the utmost *Indiscretions*, his words are capable of being wrested unto, nor can any thing but *Papal Malice*, and *Romish Chicanerie*, construe, and pervert them, so far contrary to his intentions, as to make *Crimes*, and much less to make *Treasons* of them. Now as nothing, can be of more portentous *Omen* to *British* and *Irish Protestants*, than to have a *Popish Bigot* exalted to Rule over them ; so through a concurrence of ill nature, and a deficiency in intellectuals, met in him with his furious *Zeal* and *Bigotry*, they are the more to expect, whatsoever his Power enables him to inflict, that is severe and dreadful. 'Tis possible, that a Ruler may be possessed with a Fondness, and Valuation of *Papery*, as the only Religion, wherein Salvation is to be obtained, and thereupon in his private Judgment and Opinion, sentence all to eternal Flames, who cannot herd with him in the same Society ; and yet he may through a great measure of Humanity, and from an extraordinary proportion of compassion, and meekness, woven into his nature, hate the imbrueing his hands in their Blood, or treating those with any harshness, whose supposed misbelief is their only Crime ; and that finding them in all other respects, virtuous, peaceable and industrious, He may leave them to the decretive Sentence of the Sovereign and infallible Judge, without disturbing, or meddling with them himself. Nor is it impossible, but that there may be a Prince so far *Bigotted* in *Papery*, as to have inclination, and propensity, to force all under his Authority, to be of his Religion, or else to destroy and extirpate them, yet thro being of that largeness of Understanding

and *Political Wisdom*, as to be able to penetrate into the hazards of attempting it, and to foresee the Consequences that may ensue upon it, in reference to the Peace and Safety of his Government, as well as the Wealth and Power of his Dominions, he may come to check and stifle his furious Inclinations, and chuse rather, to leave his Subjects at quiet, than to impoverish, weaken, and dispeople his Country, either by destroying them, or by driving them to abandon his Territories, in order to find a Shelter, and Sanctuary, in other places. But where (as in the *King of England*) a small measure of Understanding, accompanied with a large share of a Morose, Fierce, and ill Nature, and these attended with Insolency and Pride, as they usually are in weak and froward people, come to have a *Bigotry* in such a Religion as *Papery*, superadded to them, whose Doctrines and Principles instigate, and oblige to Cruelty, towards all of other persuasions, there *Protestants*, do find nothing, that may incourage to hope for security, and protection, under a Prince of that temper and complexion ; but all that does affect and impress their minds, bids them prepare for persecution, and to look for the utmost rigours and severities, that pride, malice, brutal zeal, backt and supported with force and power, can execute and inflict. And how much such a Prince's Religion, proves too weak to restrain him from uncleannesses, and other immoralities, by so much the more, is he to be dreaded, in that he thinks to compound for and explate Crimes of that nature, by his cruelty to *Heretics*, and by offering them up in Sacrifices of Attonement to the *Triple Crown*. Nor are the *Priests* either displeased with, or careful to dissuade Princes, from Offences of that kind, tho they know them to be great provocations to God, and of mischievous example to Subjects, seeing they are Masters of the Art of improving them, to the Service of *Holy Church*, and the Advantage of the *Catholic Faith*. For instead of imposing, upon those *Royal Transgres-*
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for, the little, and slavish Penalties of pilgrimages, Whippings, and going Bare-foot; they require them to make satisfactions for those and the like Crimes, by the Pious and Meritorious Acts of Murdering Protestants, and of Exterminating the Northern Heresies. And as one of the French Whores of State is reported to have been a person that hath principally instigated to all the Cruelties against the Reformed in France; so no doubt but as she did it under the Influence and Conduct of her Confessors to Compensate for her Adulteries, so she advised and persuaded Louis to it upon Motives of the same nature. Nor do they who have the guidance of Conscience at *Wittembal*, want matter of the same kind, to improve and work upon, and as there are of the Licentious Females that will be glad of *Antoinet* for their filthy Possessions by Acts so agreeable to the Principles of their Religion; so there are some who as they have Influence enough upon the King to connect him to the like Methods, so they will find him sufficiently disposed to compound for his Loathsome and Promiscuous Scatterings at a rate so suitable to his temper, as well as to the Doctrines of the Papal Faith.

2. If any be deluded into a good Opinion of His Majesty, and brought to flatter themselves with expectations of their being protected in the profession of the Protestant Religion, they may be easily undeceived and prevailed upon to change their Sentiments, if they will but consider his Behaviour towards Protestants in the Past, wherein he formerly stood, and what his Carriage was to them, while he was fixed in a meaner, and more Subordinate Station than now he is. Though there have been many whose behaviour in their private condition, would have rendered them thought worthy to Rule, if their Actions after their advancement to Governing Power had not confuted the Opinion entertained concerning them; yet there have been very few that have approved themselves just and Merciful after their attaining to Sovereignty, whose car-

riage in an inferior station, had been to the damage, and general hurt of mankind, as far as their narrow power and Interest would extend. It ought therefore to lay us under a conviction, what we are to expect from His Majesty on the Throne, when we find the whole thread and Series of his conduct while a Subject, to have been a continued design against our Religion, and an uninterrupted Plot for the subversion of our Laws and Liberties. 'Tis sufficiently known how active he always was to keep up, and inflame the differences among Protestants, and how he was both a great Promoter of all the severe Laws made against Dissenters, and a continual instigator to the rigorous Execution of them: So that his affirming, is to have been ever his judgment that none ought to be oppressed and persecuted for matters of Religion, nor to be hindered in Worshipping God according to their several persuasions: serves only to inform us, either with what little honesty, Honor, and Conscience he acted, in concurring to the making of the fore-said Laws, or what small faith and credit is now to be given to his Declaration, and to what he hath since the Emigration of it repeated both in his Speech to Mr. Penn, and in his Letter to Mr. Allop. And to omit many other Instances of his kindness and Benignity to the Papists, whom he now so much hugs and caresses; it may not be amiss to remember them, and all other Protestants, of that Barbarous and illegal Commission issued forth by the Council of Scotland while he, as the late Kings High Commissioner, had the management of the Affairs of that Kingdom; by which every Military Officer that had command over twelve men was empower'd to *impanel* Juries, try, condemn, and cause to be put to death, not only those who should be found to disclaim the Kings Authority, but such as should refuse to acknowledge the Kings new modelled Supremacy over that Church; in the pursuance and execution of which Commission, some were shot to death, others were hang'd or drowned, and this not only during the

continuance of the Reign of his late Majesty, but for above a Year and a half after the present King came to the Crown. But what need is there of insisting upon such little particulars, wherein he was at all times ready to express his malice to Protestants, seeing we have not only Dr. Oate's Testimony, and that of divers others, but most authentick proofs from Mr. Coleman's Letters, of his having been in a Conspiracy several years for the Subversion of our Religion, upon the Meritorious and Sanctified Motive of Extirpating the Northern Heresie. Of which be-
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his hands, nor can he escape, thinking that he esteems his Advancement to the Crown, both a reward from Heaven for what he hath done and Plotted against these three Kingdoms, and an opportunity and advantage administered unto him for the perfecting and accomplishment of all those Designs with which he hath been so long Big, and in Travel for the Destruction of our Religion, the Subversion of our Laws, and the reestablishment of Popery in these Dominions.

The Conduct and Guidance under which His Majesty hath put himself, and the fiery temper of that Order, to whose Government he hath resigned his Conscience, may greatly add to our Fears, and give us all the Jealousie and dread that we are capable of being impressed with in reference to Matters to come, that there is nothing which can be fatal to our Religion or Persons, that we may not expect the being called to conflict with and suffer. For though most of the Papish Ecclesiasticks, especially the Regulars, bear an Inveterate Malice to Protestants, and hold themselves under Indispensable Obligations of Eradicating whatsoever their Church files Heresie, and have accordingly been always forward to stir up and provoke Rulers to the Use and Application of force, for the Destruction of Protestants, as a Company of Perverse and Obdurate Hereticks, adjudged and Condemned to the Stake and Gibbet by the Infalible Chair; yet of all Men in the Communion of the Romish Church, and of their Religious Orders, the Jesuits are they who do most hate us, and whose Councils have been most sanguinary, and always tending to influence those Monarchs, whose Consciences they have had the guiding and conducting of, to the utmost Cruelties and Barbarities towards us. What our Brethren have had measured out to them in France through Father de la Chaise's Influence, upon that King, and through the bewitching Power and Domination he hath over him in the quality of his Confessor, and as having the direction of his Conscience, may very well alarm and inform us what we ought to expect from His Majesty

Majesty of Great Britain, who hath sur-
 rendered his Conscience to the guidance of Ra-
 ther *Rites*, a person of so pure an Order, and
 of the like mischievous and bloody Disposi-
 tion that the former is. It is well observed
 by the Author of the *Reasoning and Reasoning*
the Acts of Parliament concerning the East, That
 Cardinal *Harvey* being of such a weak and
 gentle Temper that is able to withstand the
 Malignity of his Religion, and to preserve
 him from concurring in those mischievous
 Councils, which his People might seem to
 oblige him unto, is the Reason of his being
 shut out from acquaintance with, and interest
 in the *English Affairs* transacted at Rome, and
 that whatsoever his Majesty hath to do in
 that Court, is managed by his Ambassador un-
 der the sole direction of the *Jesuits*: So that
 it is not without cause, that the *Jesuits* of
Leige in his Intestacy, and lately printed
 Letter, calling Brother of that Order, what a
 wonderful veneration the King hath for the
Society, and with what profound submission
 he receives those Reverend Fathers, and hear-
 kens to whatsoever they represent. Not in
 his Majesty's being under the influence of
 the *Jesuits*, thro' having one of them for his
 Confessor, and several of them for his chief
 Counsellors, and principal Counsellors, the
 only thing in this matter that awakes our
 fear, is what we are terrified from his sacred
 Power, excited and stirred by that fiery Life;
 but there is another ground why we ought
 more especially to dread him, and that is his
 being entered and enrolled into the Order,
 and become a Member of the Society, where-
 by he is brought into a greater subjection and
 dependence upon them, and stands bound by
 the engagements of being obedient to
 the commands of the *General* of the *Jesuits*,
 and that not only in Spiritual, but in Civil;
 soever they shall pretend to be subservient
 to the extension of the Order, and for up-
 holding the glory of the *Triple Crown*. This
 is a mystery which few are yet acquainted
 with, and which both his Majesty, and the
 Order judge with interest have industri-
 ously concealed; but what of the World

may ere long receive that convictive intelli-
 gence, that there will be no room left for
 suspecting the truth of it, and whereas a *Jesuit*
 in the last printed Letter from *Leige*
 hath given an already sufficient instruction
 both in telling us, That the King of England
 sits himself a Son of the Society, and how that
 he wrote so Father de la Chaise, That he would
 account every injury done to the *Jesuits* to be a
 wrong committed against himself. Neither is it
 so surprising as it may seem at first view, that
 the King should list himself a Member of the
 Order, seeing there have been some other
English Princes of whose Baroque and Ma-
 triculation into the Society, there is all the evi-
 dence and assurance imaginable. And that
 one of them is acknowledged to have been in
 the Class of the *Directors*, while the other
 three are generally believed to have been in
 the Rank of the *Directors*; yet I am not the
 power of this Society over them all, that a
 great part of the Country, extended towards
Brussels, both in the last Age and in this, is
 to be ascribed to that implicit and blind O-
 bedience which they were bound to yield to
 the injunctions of the Order, and to the com-
 mands of the *General*. Philip the Second of
Spain, who was the first King that entered in
 to the Order, and who did it upon a point of
 Policy, and possibly the first that so com-
 pletely followed the Order's commands, and
 aspiring after, and who thro' being in the
 Class of *Directors*, had advantage of using
 and improving, and not of being in the di-
 rect of *Superiors* has thus, while in the Order,
 have himself yet greater influence. Quoth he
 did they over-rule and disobey him, nor but
 by the destruction of himself, and the ruin
 of his Subjects, whose only Crime was
 that they could not believe the *Unchristian*
Rare words which he said in the last printed
 time of his *Domination*, and his being
 deposed from the *Sovereignty* in which, being
 the *Director* of the Order, and the *General*,
 when, as in the Society, he ended up
 on the *Annals* of his *Unchristian* *Dom*
Country, and the *Unchristian* *Unchristian*
 raised up by the Order, to be *Unchristian* of the

his own Court and Palace. *Sigismund* of *Poland*, who was the second crowned Head admitted into the Order, thro' complying with the Councils, and serving the Wrath, Rage, and Passions of the *Jesuits*, in endeavouring to suppress Religion in *Sweden*, to which he was *Henry*, and in striving to subvert their Civil Rights, drew upon himself the Resentment and Wrath of that Nation to such a degree, that they Abdicated him and his Heirs from the Government, and advanced another to the Throne. *Casimir* who was also King of *Poland*, is reckoned to be the third Sovereign Prince that entered into the Society, and heithers continuing under the Domination of the *Jesuits*, and being bound to follow their Directions, and to execute whatsoever the General of the Order thought fit for enjoyrs for the promotion and benefit of the Church, became not only an Instrument of a severe Persecution against all sort of Dissenters from the *Romish* Faith, so that many were put to Death, and more driven to abandon their Country, but through committing many things in the course of his Government that were prejudicial to the Rights, and therefore disgusting to the Polish Nobility, they conceived such an Aversion and Hatred for him, that to avoid the effects of their Resentment and Indignation, he was forced to lay down his Crown, and to chuse to end his days in *France* in no higher a Post, and under no more glorious a Character, than that of Abbot of *Saint Germain*. There is a fourth Prince, and who is yet in being, that is generally believed to be enrolled into the Order, and the Persecution he hath carried on in *Hungary*, contrary to his natural Temper, and to all the Rules of Interest and Policy, as also the Violation of his Promises and Oaths for continuing into them the Liberty of their Religion, is both too probable an evidence of In, and a strong confirmation of the Cruelties which the *Jesuits* instigate Princes unto over whom they have Influence, and whom they have wheedled into Engagements of obeying their Commands, and pursuing their

Injunctions. And as to the Desolating of *Hungary* thro' a long and bloody War, and the tempting the *Turks* to Invade the *Austrian* Territories, are some of the effects that have ensued upon the Emperours complying with the fierce and heady Councils of the *Jesuits*; so we have not seen all the Mischief that the Persecution, which they have engaged him in against Protestants, is like to issue in, tho' beside the disgusting several Electoral Princes and States in *Germany*, and the establishing the *Ottoman* Potentate with Encouragements of continuing the War, there are wonderful advantages afforded by it, to embolden the *French* King in his Encroachments upon the Empire, which otherways he would not have dared to attempt, and whereof the result at last may prove fatal to the Imperial Dignity, and to the whole *Hapsburg* of *Austria*. Now what the Protestants in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* ought to dread from the King, upon his being entered into a Society that hath breathed nothing but Fire and Blood since its first Institution, I leave to the serious consideration of all men who value their Lives, Liberties, and Estates, and that do not think of renouncing their Religion, and turning Papists. Nor is it to be imagined that the King, before he can be supposed well settled on the Throne, and while under a declining state of Body, as well as in an advanced Age, having the weight of fort and fifty upon his shoulders, beside something else that he is obliged to the Earl of *Southesk* for, which I shall not mention, would have taken so many bold, wide, and illegal Steps for the suppressing our Religion and Laws, and for the introducing and establishing of *Papery* and *Tyranny*, and this not only to the losing and disobliging his former Votaries and Parcizans, but to the strange alarming and disgusting most Persons of honour, quality, and merit in the three Kingdoms, were he not beside the being under the sway of his own Bigotry, and the strong ballance of a large measure of ill Nature, bound by ties of implicit Obedience to the Commands of that extravagant

gave and furious *Society*, to the promoting of whose Passions and Malice, rather than his own Safety and Glory, or the lasting Benefit of the *Roman Catholics* themselves, the whole course of his Government hitherto seems to have been shapen and adapted. The occasion and subject of the late Contest between *Him* and the *Pope*, which hath made so great a noise, not only at *Rome*, but thro' all *Europe*, may serve to convince us both of the extraordinary Zeal he hath for the *Society*, and of the transcendent Power they have over him, and that 'tis no wonder he should exact an Obedience without Reserve from his Subjects in *Scotland*, seeing he himself yields an Obedience without Reserve to the *Jesuits*. 'Tis known, how that by the Rules of their Institution, no *Jesuit* is capable of the *Myrt*, and that if the Ambition of any of them should tempt him to seek or accept the Dignity of a *Priest*, he must for being capacitated thereunto, renounce his Membership in the Order. Yet so great is his Majesty's Passion for the Honour and Grandeur of the *Society*, and such is their Domination and absolute Power over him, that no less will serve him, neither would they allow him to insist upon less, than that the *Pope* should Dispense with Father *Peters* being made a *Bishop*, without his ceasing to be a *Jesuit*, or the being transplanted into another Order. And thus the old *Gratians* at *Rome* hath been forced at last to comply with, and to grant a Dispensation whereby Father *Peters* shall be capable of the *Priesthood*, notwithstanding his remaining in the *Ignatian Order*, the *Jesuits* thro' their Authority over the King, not suffering him to recede from his Demand, and his Majesty's Zeal for the *Society* not permitting him to comply either with the Prayers, or the Conscience and Honour of the Supreme *Pontiff*.

Not only the King's Unhankfulness unto, but his illegal Proceedings against, and his arbitrary Invading the Rights of those who stood by him in all his Dangers and Difficulties, and who were the Instruments of preventing his Exclusion from the Crown, from

and the chief Means both of his advancement to the Throne, and his being kept in it, are so many new Evidences of the ill Will he bears to all *Protestants*, and what they are to dread from him as occasions are administered of Injuring and Oppressing them: and may serve to convince all impartial and thinking People, that his *Papal* Malice to our Religion is too strong for all Principles of Honour and Gratitude, and able to cancel the Obligations, which Friendship for his Person and Service to his Interest, may be supposed to have laid him under to any heretofore. Had it not been for many of the Church of *England*, who stood up with a Zeal and Vigour for preserving the Succession in the right Line, beyond what Religion, Conscience, Reason, or Interest could conduct them unto, he had never been able to have out-wrestled the endeavours of that *Parliament* for Excluding him from the Imperial Crown of *England*: and had it not been for their abetting and standing by him with their Swords in their hands, upon the Duke of *Mariborough*, Debauchee into the Kingdom, Anno 1683, he could not have avoided the being driven from the Throne, and the having the Scepter wrested out of his hand. Whosoever had the advantage of knowing the Temper and Genius of the late King, and how afraid he was of embarking into any thing that might import a visible hazard to the Peace of the Government, and after it a general dissent of his Person, will be soon satisfied that if all his *Protestant* Subjects had united in their Desires, and concurred in their Endeavours, to have had the Duke of *York* debarred from the Crown, that his late Majesty would not have scrupled the complying with it, and that his Love to his *late* Brother, would have given way to the apprehension and fear of forfeiting a Love for himself in the hearts of his People, especially when what was required of him, was not an Invasion upon the Fundamentals of the Constitution of the *English* Monarchy, nor Dissent from the Practice of the Nation in many religious

stances. Nor can there be a greater evidence of the present King's Measure, *Remiss* *Generous*, and prodigious Ingratitude, as well as of the Design he is carrying on against our *Religion* and *Laws*, than his carriage and behaviour towards the Church of England; tho' I cannot but acknowledge it a righteous Judgment upon them from God, and a just Punishment for their being not only so unconcerned for the preservation of our Religion and Liberties, as avoiding to close with the only methods that were adapted thereunto, but for being so passionate and industrious to hasten the loss of them thro' putting the Government into one's hands, who (as they might have foreseen) would be sure to make a Sacrifice of them to his beloved *Popery*, and to his inordinate Lust after despotical and arbitrary Power. And as the only example bearing any analogy to it, is that of *Levi*, the *Levi* who in recompence to his *Prophet* *Shamari* for maintaining him on the Throne, when the late Prince of *Conde* assisted by *Paris*, would have wrested the Crown from him, hath treated them with a severity, whereas that of *Asiaticus* towards the *Jews*, and that of *Diocletian* and *Maximian* towards the *Primitive Christians*, were but faint and imperfect Draughts; so there wants nothing for completing the parallel between *England* and *France*, but a little more time and a fortunate opportunity, and then the devoted Churchmen will find that *France* is no less faithful at *Whitby*, for transforming their acts of Loyalty and Faith towards the King, into Crimes and Motives of their Ruine, than *Pierre de la Chaise* hath shewn himself at *Verdun*, where by an Art peculiar to the *Jesuits*, he hath imported the Loyalty and Zeal of the *Acadians* in *France*, for the *House of Bourbon*, into a reason of alienating that Monarch from them and into a ground of his destroying that dutiful and obedient People. It will not be amiss to call over some of his Majesty's Proceedings towards the Church of England, that from what hath been already seen and felt, both they and all English Protestants may the better know what

they are to expect and look for hereafter: Tho' it be a method very unbecoming a Prince, yet it shews a great deal of Spleen, to turn the former Persecution of Dissenters, so maliciously upon the Prelatical and Conforming Clergy, as his Majesty doth in his Letter to Mr. *Alford*, in Riling them, *A Party of Protestants who think the only way to advance their Church, is by undoing those Churches of Christians that differ from them in smaller matters*. Whereas the severity that the *Presbyterians* met with, had much of its original at Court, where it was formed and designed upon motives of Popery and Arbitrariness; and the resentment and revengeful humour of some of the old Prelates, and other Churchmen that had suffered in the late times, was only laid hold of, the better to justify and improve it. And tho' it be too true, that many of the the *Anglican* *Rank*, as well as of the *little Levites* were both extremely fond of it, and conceitedly pleased for it, yet it is as true, that most of them did it not upon Principles of Judgment and Conscience, but upon Inducements of Revocation for conceived injuries, and upon a Belief of its being the most compendious Method to the next Persecution and Renovation, and the surest way of standing recommended to the Favour of the two *Royal Brothers*. Nor is it unworthy of observation, that some of the most virulent Writers against Liberty of Conscience, and others of the most fierce Insulters to the Persecuting Dissenters, among whom we may reckon *Patrick Bishop of Oxford*, and *Christopher Bishop of Chester*, are since Addressing for the Declaration of Indulgence, became the means of being graciously looked upon at *White-hall*, named forward Promoters of it, tho' their success in their Designs with their Clergy, hath not answered their Expectations and Endeavours; For as these two *Myrrid Gentlemen* will fill in with and subscribe whatsoever the King hath a mind to do, if they may but keep their *Stew*, and enjoy their Revenues, which I dare say, that rather than lose, they will subscribe not only to the *Tridentine Faith*, but to the *Alcoran*; so it is most

most certain that they say as well as the Bishop of Durham have promised to turn *Roman Catholics*; and that as *Urry* hath been several times seen assisting at the celebration of the Mass, and that as *Carrwright* paid a particular respect to the *Nuncio* at his solemn Entrance at *Windsor*, which some Temporal Lords had so much conscience and honour as to scorn to do; so the Author of the *Little Easter* tells us, that *Parker* not only extremely favours *Papery*, but that he brands in a manner all such for *Atheists* who continue to plead for the Protestant Religion. 'Tis an Act of the same candour and good nature in the King with the former; and another Royal effect of his *Princely breeding* as well as of his *Gratitude*, when he endeavours to cast a further shadow upon the Church of England; and to exasperate the Dissenters against her, by saying in the forementioned Letter to Mr. *Ashmole*, that the reason why the Dissenters enjoyed not Liberty formerly, is chiefly owing to the solicitations of the Conforming Clergy; whereas many of the Learned and sober men of the Church of England, could have been contented that the Nonconforming Protestants should have had liberty long ago; provided it had been granted in a legal way, and the chief Executioners of severity upon them were such of all Ranks, Orders, and Stations as the Court both set on and rewarded for it. 'Tis not their Brethrens having Liberty that displeaseth Modest and Good Men of the Church of England; but 'tis the having it in the virtue of an *arbitrary Privilege* over the Laws of the Land; and to the shaking all the Legal Foundations of the Protestant Religion it self in the Kingdom. And had the Declaration of *Indulgence* imported only an exemption of Dissenters and Papists from rigours and penalties, I know very few that would have been displeased at it; but the extending it to the removing all the *Fences* about the Reformed Doctrine and worship, and laying us open both to the tyranny of Papists, and the being overflowed with a deluge of their Superstitions and Idolatries, as well as the designing it for

a means to overthrow the Established Church, is that which no wise Dissenter no more than a conformable man knows how to digest. For I am not of Sir Roger's *Strangers* mind, who after he had been writing for many years against Dissenters, with all the venom and malice imaginable, and to disprove the wisdom, justice, and convenience of granting them Liberty, hath now the impudence to publish *That whatsoever be formerly* *written, bears at least testimony to the present Reformation of State, in that the Liberty now boasted of is an Act of Grace* *issuing from the Supreme Magistracy, and not a claim of right to the people.* And as to recited expressions of the *Book*, they are only a *Papal Trick*; whereby to keep up heats and animosities among Protestants, which both the inward heats of men are much allayed, and the external Provocations to them are wholly removed, and they are nicely *Justice* *method* by which our hatred of one another may be maintained, tho the Laws making one party to persecute the other, which was the chief spring of all our mutual rancour and broils, may be suspended. It would be the more glory of the *Christian* *Order*, to be able to make the disabling of *Papal* *Law* be essential to the supplanting differences among Protestants, as the Enacting and rigorous execution of them, was to the first railing, and the continuing them afterwards for many years. And if the foregoing *Tricks* can furnish the *Rome* arguments whereby to reproach the Church of *England*, when he thinks it reasonable and for the interest of *Rome* to be angry with them, I dare affirm he will never want pretences of being discontented with and of *assessing* *Parliaments*, when he finds the doing so, to be for the service of the *Papal* Cause. And if the above-mentioned instances of his Majesty's behaviour to the Church of *England*, to which he stands so superlatively obliged, be not his Testimonies of his Ingenuity, evidences of his Gratitude, nor effects of common, much less *Royal* Justice; yet what remains to be estimated, does carry more visible marks of

his malice and design both against the Legally established Church and our Religion. For not being satisfied with the *Suspension* of all those *Laws*, by which Protestants and they of the *National Communion* might seem to be injurious to *Papists* in their Persons and Estates, such as the *Laws* which make those, who shall be found to have taken *Orders* in the Church of *Rome*, obnoxious to death, or those other Statutes, by which the King hath power and Authority for levying two thirds of their Estates that shall be convicted of *Recusancy*; but by an usurped *Prerogative* and an *Absolute* power he is pleased to suspend all the *Laws* by which they were only disabled from hurting us, through standing precluded from places of power and trust in the Government. So that the whole security we have in time to come for our Religion, depends upon the temperate disposition and good nature of those Roman Catholics that shall be advanced to Offices and Employments, and does no longer bear upon the protection and support of the *Law*; and I think we have not had that experience of grace and favour from *Papists*, as may give us just confidence of fair and candid treatment from them for the future. Now that we may be the better convinced, how little security we have from his Majesties promise in his Declaration, of his protecting the Arch Bishops, Bishops and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of England, in the free exercise of their Religion as by *Law* established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever, which is all the *Tinour* that is left us; 'tis not unworthy of observation, how that beside the suspending the Bishop of London *ab Officio*, and the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge both *ab Officio* and *Beneficio*, and this not only for Actions which the *Laws* of God and the Kingdom make their duty, but thro a sentence inflicted upon them by no *Legal Court of Judicature*, but by five or six mercenary persons supported by a Tyrannous and Arbitrary Commission, his Majesty in his Proclamation for Toleration in Scotland, bearing date the 12. of February, doth among

many other *Laws*, *ease*, *disable*, and *dispense* with the *Law* enjoining the *Scots Test*, tho it was not only enacted by himself while he represented his Brother as his *high Commissioner*, but hath been confirmed by him in *Parliament* since he came to the Crown. Surely it is as easie to depart from a promise made in a Declaration, as 'tis to Absolve and Discharge himself from the obligation of a *Law* which he first concurred to the Enacting of, and gave the creating *Fiat* unto as the late Kings Commissioner, and hath since Ratified in *Parliament* after he was come to the Throne. As there is no more infidelity, dishonour and injustice, so there is less of absolute power and illegality, in doing the one than the other. Nor is it possible for a rational man to place a confidence in his Majesties Royal word for the protection of our Religion, and the Church of England mens enjoying their possessions; seeing he hath not only departed from his promise made to the Council immediately after his Brothers death, but hath violated his faith given to the Parliament of England at their first Session, which we might have thought would have been the more sacred and binding, by reason of the grandeur, state and quality of the Assembly to which it was pledged.

† If we consider how much Protestants suffered, what number of them was burnt at the stake as well as murdered in Goals, beside the vast multitudes, who to avoid the rage and power of their Enemies, were forced to abandon their Countrey, and seek for shelter in *Forreign* parts, and what endeavours of all kinds were used for the Extirpation of our Religion under Queen Mary; we may gather and learn from thence what is to be dreaded from James the II. who is the next *Papish Prince* to her that since the Reformation hath sat on the Throne of England. For tho there be many things that administer grounds of hope, that the *Papists* will not find it so easie a matter to bring us in shoals to the stake, nor of that quick and easie dispatch to suppress the Protestant Religion, and set up Popery, at this time as they found it then; yet every thing that

that occurs to our thoughts, or that can effect our understandings, serves not only to persuade us into a belief that they will set upon and endeavour it, but to work us up to an assurance that his Majesty would take it for a diminution of his glory, as well as reflection upon his zeal for the Church of *Rome*, not to attempt what a woman had both the courage to undertake, and the fortune to go thro with. And there is withal a concurrence of so many things both abroad and at home at this juncture, which if laid in the ballance with the motives to our hope of the Papists miscarrying, may justly raise our Fears of their prospering to a very sad uncomfortable height. Whosoever shall compare these two Princes together, will find that there was less danger to be apprehended from *Mary*, and that not only upon the score of her Sex, but by reason of a certain gentleness and goodness of nature which all *Historians* of judgment and credit ascribe unto her, than is to be expected from the present King, in whom a sourness of temper, fierceness of disposition, and pride joyned with a peevishness of humour, not to bear the having his will disputed or controlled, are the principal ingredients into his Constitution, and which are all strangely heightened and enflamed by contracted Distempers of Body, and thro furious principles of mind which he hath imbib'd from the *Jesuites*, who of all men carry the obligations arising from the *Doctrines* of the *Papish Religion*, to the most outrageous and inhumane excesses. Nor can I forbear to add, that whereas the Cruelty which that *Princess* was hurried into, even to the making her Cities common shambles, and her streets Theaters of Murder for innocent persons, for which she became hated while she lived, and her memory is rendred infamous to all Generations that come after, was wholly and entirely owing to her *Religion*, which not only proclaims it lawful, but a necessary duty of Christianity, and an act meriting a peculiar Crown of Glory in Heaven, to destroy *Hetics*; 'tis to be feared there will be found in the present King a splee of *revenge* against

us as we are *Englishmen*, as well as a measure heapt up and running over of furious *Papal Zeal* against us as we are Protestants. Beside the wrath he bears unto us for our departure from the Communion of the *Romish Church*, and our Rebellion against the Triple Crown; the War wherein many of the Kingdom were engaged against his *Father*, & the illue of it in the execution of that *Monarch*, is what he hath been heard to say, *That he hopes to revenge upon the Nation* And all that the City of London underwent thro that dreadful conflagration 1666; of which he was the great Author and Promoter, as well as the Rescuer and Protector of the *Variets* that were apprehended in their spreading and carrying on the fire, is but earnest in respect of what is designed farther to be paid them, for the having been the great supporters of that War, both by continued *Recruits* of men, and repeated *Supplies* of *Treasure*. Tho it was *Queen Maries* misfortune, and proved the misery of *Protestants*, that she was under the influence of *Papish Bishops*, and of *Religious* of several Orders, by whom she was whetted on and provoked to those barbarities wherewith her Reign is stained and reproached; yet she had no *Jesuites* about her, to whom all the other Orders are but *punies* in the arts of whedling and frightening Princes forward to cruelty. The *Society* being then but in its infancy, and the distance between its *Institution*, which was in the year 1540. and the time of her coming to the Crown, which was Anno 1553. not affording season enough for their spreading so far abroad as they have since done, nor for the perfecting themselves to that degree in the methods of butchery, and in the Topicks whereby to delude Monarchs, to serve and promote their *sanguinary* passions, as they have in process of time attained unto. Nor have the *Protestants* now any security for their *Religion*, whereby it or themselves may be preserved from the Attempts of his Majesty for the extirpation of both, but what our Predecessors in the same Faith had in the like kind, tho' not to the same measure and degree, when *Queen Mary* arrived at the Throne. For tho' our Religion was of late

Fenced:

Benighted about with more *Laws*, and we had *Royal promises* oftner repeated for the having is preserved, and our selves protected in the Profession of it; yet it is certain that it had not only received a *Legal Establishment* under *King Edward the VI.* but had the *Royal Faith* of *Queen Mary* laid to pledge in a promise made to the men of *Suffolk*, that nothing should be done towards its subversion, or whereby they might be hindered in the free exercise of it. But as neither Law nor promise could prove Restraints upon *Mary*, to hinder her from subverting Religion, and burning Protestants; so the obligation of gratitude that she was under to the men of *Suffolk* for their coming in so seasonably to her assistance against the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was in the field with an Army in the name of the Lady *Jean Gray*, whom the Council had proclaimed *Queen*, could not excuse them from sharing in the severity that others met with, it being observed that more of that County were burnt for Religion, than of any other Shire in *England*. And 'tis greatly to be feared, that this piece of her example, will not escape being conformed unto by the King in his carriage towards those that eminently served him, as well as all the rest of it in his behaviour towards Protestants in general. Nor is it possible to conceive that the *Papists* living at that ease and quietness which they did under his late Majesty, of whose being of their Religion they were not ignorant, as appears by the proofs they have vouchsafed the world of it since his death, would have been in so many *Plots* for destroying him, and at last have hastened him to his *Fathers*, as can be demonstrated whensoever it is seasonable, had they not been assured of more to be attempted by his Successor for the extirpation of Protestants, than *Charles* could be wrought up unto, or prevailed upon to expose his person and Crown to the danger and hazard of. For as 'tis not merely a Princees being a *Papist*, and mild, gentle, and favourable to *Catholicks*, that will content the fiery zealors of the Roman Clergy, and the *Regular Orders*, but he must both gratify their ambition

in exalting them to a condition above all others, and serve their inhumane Lusts and brutal passions, in not suffering any to live in his Dominions that will not renounce the *Northern Hæresie*; so it is not more incredible that they should dispatch a Prince by an infusion in a Cup of Tea or Chocolate, whom tho they knew to be a *Papist*, yet they found too cold and slow in promoting their designs; than that they should have Murdered another by a *Consecrated Dagger* in the hand of *Ravaillac*, the one being both more easie to be detected, and likelier to derive an universal hatred and revenge upon them than the other. And as the King being conscious of that *Parricide* committed upon his Brother, plainly tells us that there is nothing so abominable and Barbarous, which he hath not a Conscience that will swallow and digest, so the promotion of the *Catholick* cause being the motive to that horrid Crime, we may be sure that what is hitherto done in favour of *Papists*, falls much short of what is intended, there being something more meritorious than all this amounts unto, needful to atone for so barbarous a villany, which can be nothing else but the extirpating the *Protestant Religion* out of the Three Kingdoms. Nor is it probable that the present King, who is represented for a person Ambitious of Glory, would lose the opportunities, wherewith the present posture of Affairs in the World presents him, of being the *Umpire* and *Arbiter* of Christendom, and of giving check to the grandeur and usurpations of a neighbouring Monarchy; to whom all *Europe* is in danger of becoming enslaved; if he were not swallowed up in the thoughts of a conquest over the Consciences, Laws, and Liberties of his own people, and of subjugating his Dominions to the Sea of *Rome*, and had he not hopes and assurances of Aid and Assistance therein from that Monarch, as he is emboldned and encouraged thereunto by his pattern and example.

What the *Papists* have all along been endeavouring for the subversion of our Religion during and under the Reigns of Protestant

Pria-

Princes, may yet farther inform and confirm us, what they will infallibly attempt upon their having gotten one into the Throne, who is not only in all things of their own Faith, but of an humour agreeable unto their desires, and of a temper every way suited and adapted to their Designs. Tho the *Protestant Religion* had obtained some entrance into several States and Kingdoms, and had made some considerable spread in *Europe*, before it came to be generally received, and established upon Foundations of Law in *England*; yet they of other Countries, were little able to defend themselves from the Power and Malice of the Church of *Rome*, and of *Papish Princes*, and many of them were very unsuccessful in endeavours of that nature, till *England*, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, by espousing their Cause, and undertaking their Quarrel, not only wrought out their safety, but made them flourish. This the Court of *Rome* and the *Priests* grew immediately sensible of, and have therefore moulded all their Counsels ever since against *England*, as being both the Bulwark of the *Protestant Religion*, and the Balance of *Europe*. All the late Attempts for the Extirpation of the *Protestant Religion* in *France*, & elsewhere, are much to be ascribed to the confidence the *Papists* had in the late King and his Brother, of their giving no discouragement nor obstruction to so holy a Design; and thereupon as the first *Edicts* for infringing the Liberty, and weakning and oppressing *Protestants* in *France*, and the *Persecution* in *Hungary*, commenced and bore date with the Restoration of the *Royal Family*, and multiplied and encreased from year to year as they grew into farther assurance of the *Royal Brothers* approving as well as conniving at what was done; so that for the Abolition of the *Edict of Nantes* and the total Suppression of the *Reformed Religion* in *France*, was emitted upon his present Majesties being exalted to the Throne, and the encouragement he gave them to a Procedure, which as he now justifies, he will hereafter imitate. It were to suppose *English Protestants* exceedingly unacquainted with the Hi-

story of their own Nation, to give a long Deduction of what the *Papists* have attempted for the Extirpation of our Religion, while we had *Princes* on the Throne whose Belief and Principles in *Christianity*, led them to assert and defend the *Reformation*, and who had Courage as well as Integrity to punish those that conspired against it. Their many Conjurations against Queen *Elizabeth's* Person, and their repeated endeavours of bringing in *Forreigners*, and of betraying the Nation to the *Spaniards*, who were to Convert the Kingdom as they had done the *West-Indies*, by killing the Inhabitants, are sufficiently known to all who have allowed themselves leisure to read, or who have been careful to remember what they have been often told by those that have inspected the *Memoires* of those times. The *Gan-powder-plot* with the Motives unto it, and the extent of the Mischief it was shapen for, together with the Insurrection they were prepared for in case it had succeeded, and the *forreign Aid* they had been soliciting and were promised, and all for the Extirpation of *English Hereticks*, are things so modern, and which we have had so many times related to us by our Fathers, that it is enough barely to intimate them. The *Irish Massacre*, in which above two hundred thousand were murder'd in cold blood, and to which there was no provocation but that of Hatred to our Religion, and furlous Zeal to extirpate *Hereticks*, ought at this time to be more particularly reflected upon, as that which gives us a true Scheme of the manner of the Church of *Rome's* converting *Protestant Kingdoms*, and being the Copy they have a mind to write after, and that in such Characters and Lines of Blood as may be sure to answer the Original. At the season when they both entered upon and executed that Hellish Conjuraton, they were in a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the private Exercise of their Religion, yea had many publick Meeting-places, thro' the means of the Queen and many great Friends which they had at Court, and were neither disturbed for not coming to Church, nor suffered any Severities upon the

the account of their profession; but that would not satisfy, nor will any thing else unless they may be allowed to cut the Throats, or make Bonfires, of all that will not joyn with them in a blind obedience to the *Sea of Rome*, and of worshipping *St. Patrick*. The little harsh usages which the *Papists* at any time meet with there or in *England*, they derived them upon themselves by their Crimes against the *State*, and for their *Conspiracies* against our Princes and their *Protestant Subjects*. For till the *Pope* had taken upon him to *Depose Queen Elizabeth*, and absolve her Subjects from their *Allegiance*, and till the *Papists* had so far approved that *Act* of his *Holiness*, as to raise *Rebellions* at home, and enter into *Treasonable Confederacies* abroad, there were no Laws that could be titled severe, Enacted in *England* against *Papists*, and the making of them was the result of *Necessity*, in order to preserve ourselves, and not from an inclination to hurt any for matters of meer *Religion*. Such hath always been the moderation of our *Rulers*, and so powerful are the incitements to lenity, which the generality of *Protestants* through the influence and impression of their *Religion*, especially they of a more generous Education, have been under towards those of the *Roman Communion*, that nothing but their unwearied restlessness to disturb the *Government* and destroy *Protestants*, hath been the cause either of enacting those Laws against them that are stiled *Rigorous*, or of their having been at any time put into execution. And notwithstanding that some such Laws were enacted as might appear to favour of severity, yet could they have but submitted to have dwelt peaceably in the Land, they would have found that their meer belief and the private practice of their *Worship*, would not have much prejudiced or endangered them, and that tho the Laws had been continued *unrepealed*, yet it was only as a *Hedge* about us for our protection, and as *Bonds* of obligation upon them to their good behaviour. To which may be added,

that more *Protestants* have suffered in one year, by the Laws made against *Dissenters*, and to the utmost height of the Penalties which the violation of them imported, and that by the instigation of *Papists* and their influence over the late King and his present Majesty, than there have *Papists* from the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign to this very day, tho there was a difference in the punishments they underwent. However we may from their many and repeated Attempts against us, while we had Princes that both would and could chasten their insolencies, and inflict upon them what the Law made them abnoxious unto for their outrages, gather and conclude what we are now to expect, upon their having obtained a King imbued with all the persecuting and bloody principles of *Papery*, and perfectly Baptized into all the Doctrines of the Councils of *Lateran* and *Constance*. And it may strengthen our Faith as well as increase our Fear, of what is purposed against and impends over us, in that they cannot but think, that the suffering our Religion to remain in a condition to be at any time hereafter the Religion of the *State*, and of the universality of the people, may not only prove a means of retrieving *Protestancy* in *France*, and of assisting to revenge the barbarities perpetrated there upon a great and innocent people, but may leave the *Roman Catholics* in *England* exposed to the resentment of the Kingdom, for what they have so foolishly and impudently acted both against our *Civil Rights*, and *Established Religion*, since *James the II.* came to the Crown; and may also upon the Governments falling into good hands, and Magistrates coming to understand their true Interest, which is for an *English Prince* to make himself the Head of the *Protestant Cause* and to espouse their Quarrel in all places, give such a Revolution in *Europe*, as will not only check the present Career of *Rome*, but cause them repent the methods in which they have been engaged. These things we may be sure the *Papists* are aware of, and that having proceeded so far, they have

nothing left for their security from punishments because of Crimes committed, but to put us out of all capacity of doing our selves Right and them Justice; and he must be dull, who does not know into what that must necessarily hurry them.

It being then as evident as a matter of this nature is capable of, what are we to expect and dread from the King both as to our Religion and Laws? we may do more than presume that the late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and the Proclamation for a Toleration, are not intended and designed for the benefit and advantage of the Reformed Religion, and that whatsoever motives have influenced to the granting and emitting of them, they do not in the least flow or proceed from any kindness and good will to Protestant Dissenters. And tho many of those weak and easie people may flatter themselves with a belief of an Interest in the Kings favour, and suffer others to delude them into a persuasion of his bearing a gracious respect towards them; yet it is certain, that they are people in the world whom he most hates, and who when things are ripe for it, and that he hath abused their credulity into a serving his Ends as far as they can be prevailed upon, and as long as the present Juggle can be of any advantage for promoting the Papal cause, will be sure not only to have an equal share in his displeasure with their Brethren of the Church of England, but will be made to drink deepest in the cup of fury and wrath that is mingling and preparing for all Protestants. No provocation from their present behaviour, tho it is such as might warm a person of very cool Temper, much less offences of another Complexion administered by any of them, shall ever tempt me to say they deserve it, or cause me to ravel into their former and past carriages; 'tis as to fasten a blot or imputation on the party or body of them, whatsoever I may be forced to do as to particular persons among them. For as to the generality I do believe them to be as honest, industrious, useful, and virtuous a people (tho many of them

be none of the wisest nor of the greatest prospect) as any party of men in the Kingdom, and that wherein ever their carriage (even abstracting from their differences with their fellow Protestants in matters of Religion) hath varied from that of other Subjects, they have been in the Right, and have acted most agreeably to the interest and safety of the Kingdom. But it can be no reflection upon them, to recal into their memories, that the whole tenour of the Kings actions towards them both when Duke of York and since he came to the Crown, hath been such as might render it beyond dispute, that they are so far from having any singular room in his favour, that he bears them neither pity nor compassion, but that they are the objects of his unchangeable indignation. For not to mention how the persecutions, that were observed always to relent both upon his being at any distance from the late King, and upon the abatement of his influence at any time into Councils, were constantly revived upon his return to Court, and were carried on in degrees of severity proportionable to the signs he made at Whitehall, and his Brothers disposedness and inclination to hearken to him; surely their memories can not be so weak and unthankful, but they must remember how their sufferings were never greater, nor the Laws executed with more severity upon them, than since his Majesty came to ascend the Throne. As it is not many years since he said publicly in Scotland, that it were well if all that part of the Kingdom (which is above half of the Nation) where the Dissenters were known to be most numerous, were turned into a burning field; so none were favoured and promoted either at Court or in England, but such as were taken to be the most fierce and violent of all others against Protestants. Not were men preferred either in Church or State for their Learning, Vertue, or Merit, but for their passionate heats and brutal vigours to Dissenters. And whereas the Popish faction the very first day of his arrival on the Government, had beside many other marks of his Grace,

this special Testimony of it, of not having the *penal Statutes* to which they stood liable be put in execution against them; all the *Laws* to which the *Dissenters* were obnoxious, were by his Majesties Orders to the *Judges, Justices of the Peace*, and all other *Officers Civil and Ecclesiastical* most unmercifully executed. Nor was there the least talk of lenity to *Dissenters*, till the King found that he could not compass his *Ends* by the Church of *England*, and prevail upon the *Parliament* for Repealing the *Tests*, and cancelling the other *Laws* in force against *Papists*, which if they could have been wrought over unto, the *Fanaticks* would not only have been left pitiless, and continued in the hands of the furious Church-men to exercise their spleen upon, but would have been surrendered as a sacrifice to new flames of wrath, if they of the *Prelatical Communion* had retained their wonted Animosity, and thought it for their interest to exert it, either in the old or in fresh methods. But that project not succeeding, his Majesty is forced to shift hands, and to use the pretence of extending compassion to *Dissenting Protestants*, that he may the more plausibly and with the less hazard, suspend and disable the *Laws* against *Papists*, and make way for their admission into all *Offices Civil and Military*, which is the first step, and all that he is in a condition to take, for the subversion of our *Religion*. And all the celebrated kindness to *Fanaticks*, is only to use them as the *Car's* paw, for pulling the *Chestnut* out of the fire to the *Monkey*, and to make them *states* under whose shroud and covert, the Church of *Rome* may undermine and subvert all the *legal foundations* of our *Religion*, which to suffer themselves to be instrumental in, will not in the issue turn to the commendation of the *Dissenters* wisdom or their honesty. Nor is there more truth in the Kings declaring it to have been his constant opinion, That *Conscience* ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere *Religion*, than there is of *Justice* in that malicious insinuation, (in his Letter to Mr. *Alsop*) against the Church of *England*, That

should he see cause to change his Religion, he should never be of that party of *Protestants*, who think the only way to advance their Church, is by undoing those Churches of *Christians* that differ from them in smaller matters; for as much as he is in the mean time a member of the most persecuting and bloody Society, that ever was clothed with the name of a Church, and whose cruelty towards *Protestants* he is careful not to arraign, by fastning his offence at severity upon differences in smaller matters, which he knows that those between *Rome* and us are not, nor so accounted by any of the *Papal Fellowship*. It were to be wished that the *Dissenters* would reflect and consider, how when the late King had emitted a Declaration of Indulgence, Anno 1672 upon pretended motives of tenderness and compassion to his *Protestant Subjects*, but in truth to keep all quiet at home, when in conjunction with *France* he was engaging in an unjust War against a *Reformed State* abroad, and in order to steal liberty for the *Papists* to practice their *Idolatries*, without incurring a suspicion himself of being of the *Romish Religion*, and in hope to wind up the *Prerogative* to a paramount power of the Law; and how when the *Parliament* condemned the *Illegality* of it, and would have the Declaration recalled, all his kindness to *Dissenters* not only immediately vanished, but turned into that Rage and Fury, that tho both that *Parliament* addressed for some favour to be shewed them, and another voted it a *Betraying* of the *Protestant Religion*, to continue the execution of the *Penal Laws* upon them, yet instead of their having any mercy or moderation exercised towards them, they were thrown into a *Furnace* made seven times hotter, than that wherein they had been scorched before. And without pretending to be a Prophet, I dare prognosticate and foretel, that whensoever the present King hath compassed the *Ends*, unto which this Declaration is designed to be subservient, namely the placing the *Papists* both in the open exercise of their *Religion*, and in all publick *Offices and Trusts*, and the getting a power to be acknowledged vested in him over

over the *Laws*; that then instead of the still voice calmly whispered from *Whitehall*, they will both hear and feel the blasts of a mighty rushing Wind, and that upon pretended occasions arising from the abuse of this *Indulgence*, or for some alleged Crimes wherein they and all other Protestants are to be involved, (tho their supineness and excess of Loyalty continue to be their greatest offences) this *Liberty* will not only be withdrawn and the old Church of *England* severities revived, but some of the New à la mode à *France* Treatments come upon the stage, and be pursued against them, and all other perverse and obstinate *British Hereticks*.

The *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, being injurious to the Church of *England*, and not proceeding from any inward and real good will to the *Dissenters*; it will be worth our pains to inquire into and make a more ample deduction of the Reasons upon which it was granted, that the grounds of emitting it being laid under every mans view, they who have *Addressed* may come to be ashamed of their simplicity and folly, they who have not may be farther confirmed both of the unlawfulness and Inconveniency of doing it, and that all who preserve any regard to the *Protestant Religion* and the *Laws of England*, may be quickened to the use of all *Legal* and due means for preventing the mischievous effects, which it is shapen for, and which the *Papists* do promise themselves from it. The *Motives* upon which his Majesty published the *Declaration* may be reduced to *Three*, of which as I have already made some mention, so I shall now place every one of them in its several and proper light, and give such proofs and evidence of their being the great and sole inducements for the Emitting of it, that no Rational man shall be able henceforth to make a doubt of it. The first, is the Kings winding himself into a *Supremacy* and *Absoluteness* over the *Law*, and the getting it acknowledged, and calmly submitted unto and acquiesced in by the Subjects. The Monarchies being le-

gal and not *Despotic*, bounded and regulated by *Laws*, and not to be exercised according to *meer will and pleasure*, was that which he could not digest the thoughts of when a Subject, and had been heard to say, *That he had rather Reign a day in that Absoluteness that the French King doth, than an Age tied up and restrained by Rules as his Brother did.* And therefore to persuade the Prince of *Orange* to approve what he had done in *Dispensing* with the *Laws*, and to obtain him and the Princess to join with his Majesty, and to employ their interest in the Kingdom for the *Repealing* the *Test Acts*, and the many other *Statutes* made against *Roman Catholics*, he used this Argument in a Message he sent to their Royal Highnesses upon that Errand, that the getting it done would be greatly to the advantage, and for the increase of the *Prerogative*; but this these Two Noble Princes, of whose Ascent to the Throne all Protestants have so near and comfortable a prospect, were too generous as well as wise to be wheedled with, as knowing that the *Authority* of the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England* is great enough by the *Rules* of the *Constitution*, without grasping at a New *Prerogative Power*, which as the *Laws* have not vested in them, so it would be of no use but to inable them to do hurt. And indeed it is more necessary both for the honour and safety of the Monarch, and for the freedom and security of the people, that the *Prerogative* should be confined within its ancient and legal channels, than be left to that illimited and unbounded latitude, which the late King and his present Majesty have endeavoured to advance and screw it up unto. That both the *Declaration for liberty of Conscience* in *England*, and the *Proclamation for a Toleration* in *Scotland*, are calculated for raising the *Soueraign Authority* to a transcendent Power over the *Laws* of the Two Kingdoms, may be demonstrated from the Papers themselves, which lay the *Dispensing Power* before us in terms that import no less than his Majesties standing free and absol-

absolved from all ties and restraints, and his being clothed with a Right of doing whatsoever he will. For if the Stile of *Royal Pleasure* to suspend the execution of such and such *Laws*, and to forbid such and such *Oaths* to be required to be taken and this in the vertue of no *Authority* declared by the *Laws* to be resident in his Majesty, but in the vertue of a certain vagrant and indeterminate thing called *Royal Prerogative*, as the Power exercised in the *English Declaration* is worded and expressed, be not enough to enlighten us sufficiently in the matter before us; the Stile of *Absolute Power* which all the Subjects are to obey without Reserve, whereby the King is pleased to chalk before us the *Authority* exerted in the *Scotts Proclamation*, for the stopping, disabling, and dispensing with such and such *Laws* as are there referred unto, and for the granting the *Toleration* with the other *Liberties*, *Immunities*, and *Rights* there mentioned, is more than sufficient to set the point we are discoursing beyond all possibility of rational control. As 'tis one and the same kind of *Authority* that is claimed over the *Laws* and *Subjects* of both Kingdoms, tho' for some certain reasons it be more modestly designed and expressed in the *Declaration* for a *Liberty* in England, than it is in the *Proclamation* for a *Toleration* in Scotland; so the utmost that the *Czar of Muscovy*, the *Great Mogul*, or the *Turkish Sultan* ever challenged over their respective Dominions, amounts only to an *Absolute Power*, which the King both owns the Exertion of, and makes it the Fountain of all the *Royal Acts* exercised in the formentioned Papers. And as the improving this challenged *Absolute Power* into an *Obligation* upon the *Subjects* to obey his Majesty without Reserve, is a *Paraphrase* upon *Despotic Dominion*, and an advancing it to a pitch, above what any of the ancient or modern *Tyrants* ever dreamt of, and beyond what the most ferocious part of Mankind was ever acquainted with, till the present *French King* gave an instance of it, in making his own Will and Pleasure to be the ground and

argument upon which his *Reformed Subjects* were to Renounce their Religion, and to turn *Roman Catholics*; so it is worth considering whether his Majesty, who glories to imitate that *forraign Monarch*, may not in a little time make the like application of his *Absolute Power*, which his *Subjects* are bound to obey without Reserve; and whether in that case, they who have Addressed to thank him for his *Declaration*, and thereby justified the Claim of this *Absolute Power*, being that upon which the *Declaration* is superstructed, and from which it emergeth, can avoid paying the Obedience that is demanded as a Duty in the *Subject* inseparably annexed thereunto. That which more confirms us, that the *English Declaration*, and the *Scotts Proclamation*, are not only designed for the obtaining from the *Subjects* an Acknowledgment of an *Absolute Power* vested in the King, but that no less than the *Usurpation* and Exercise of such a Power, can warrant and support them, are the many *Laws* and *Rights*, which a Jurisdiction is challenged over and exerted in reference unto in Papers filed by the formentioned Names. All confess a *Royal Prerogative* settled on the Crown, and appertaining to the *Royal Office*; nor can the *Supream Magistrature* be executed and discharged to the Advantage and Safety of the Community, without a Power affixed unto it of superseding Execution of some *Laws* at certain junctures, nor without having an *Authority* over the *Rights* of particular men in some incident Cases; but then the received Customes of the respective Nations, and the Universal Good, Preservation, and Safety of the People in general, are the *Measures* by which this *Prerogative* in the Crown is to be regulated, and beyond which to apply or exert it, is an *Usurpation* and *Tyranny* in the Ruler. All the Power belonging to the *Kings* and *Queens* of England and Scotland, ariseth from an agreement and concession of the People, wherein it is stipulated what *Rights*, *Liberties*, and *Privileges* they reserved unto themselves, and what *Authority* and *Jurisdiction* they delegated and

and made over unto the *Soueraign*, in order to his being in a condition to Protect and Defend them, and that they may the better live in Peace, Freedom, and Safety, which are the *Ends* for which they have chosen *Kings* to be over them, and for the compassing whereof they originally submitted unto, and pitched upon such a *Form of Civil Administration*. Nor are the *Opinions* of particular men of what Rank or Order soever they be, to be admitted as an Exposition of the extent of this *Prerogative*, seeing they thro' their Dependancies upon the *King*, and their Obnoxiousness to be influenced by selfish and personal Ends, may enlarge it beyond what is for the benefit of the *Community*; but the immemorial course of Administration, with the Sense of the whole *Society* signified by their Representatives in *Parliament*, upon emerging occasions, are to be taken for the Sense, Paraphrase, and Declaration of the *Limits* of this *Royal and Prerogative Power*; and for any to determine the Bounds of it from the Testimonies of Mercenary Lawyers, or Sycophant Clergymen, in cases wherein the *Parliament* have by their *Votes* and *Resolutions* sealed its *Boundaries*, is a Crime that deserves the severest Animadversion, and which it is to be hop'd a true *English Parliament* will not let pass unpunished. Now a Power arising from *Royal Prerogative* to suspend, and disable a great number of *Laws* at once, and they of such a nature and tendency, as the great Security of the People consists in their being maintained; and which the whole *Community* represented in *Parliaments* have often disallowed and made void *Princes* meddling with, so as to interrupt their execution and course, is so far from being a *Right*, inherent in the *Crown*, that the very pretending unto it, is a changing of the *Government*, and an overthrowing of the *Constitution*. For De Landib. *resens* says, That *Rex Angliæ populi Leg. Angli. iam Gubernat non merâ potestate Regiâ, sed politicâ; quia populus iis legibus gubernatur quas ipsi ferit;* The *King of England* doth not so properly Govern

by a power that is *Regal*, as by a power that is political, in that he is bound to Rule by the *Laws*, which the people themselves chuse and enact. And both *Bracton* and *Fleta* tell us, That *Rex Angliæ habet superiores, viz. legem per quam Flet. l. 1. c. 17. factus est Rex, ac Comes & Barones qui debent ei frangere potestatem*: The *King of England* hath for *Superiors*, both the *Laws* by which he is constituted *King*, and which is the measure of his governing Power, and the *Parliament* which is to restrain him, if he do amiss. And thereupon we have not only that other saying of *Bracton*, That *nihil aliud potest Rex, nisi id solum quod iure potest*: The *King* can do nothing, but what he can do by *Law*. But we have that famous Passage in our *Parliaments Roll*, *Non est ulla Regis prerogativa, quæ ex Rol Parl. 7. iustitiâ & æquitate quicquam derogat*: That there is no prerogative belongs to the *King* by which he can decline from acting according to *Law* and *Justice*. So careful were our *Ancestors* both in *England* and *Scotland*, to preserve our *Laws* from being invaded and superceded by their *Kings*, that they have not only by divers *Parliamentary Votes* and *Resolutions*, and by several *Statutes*, declared all *Dispensations* by the *King*, from *Laws* and enjoyned *Oaths*, to be null and void, and not admissible by the *Judges* or other *Executors of Law and Justice*; but they have often impeached, arraigned, and condemned those to one Penalty or another, that have been found to have counselled and advised *Kings* to an *Usurpation* of Power over the *Laws*, and to a *Violation* of established and enacted *Rules*. It would draw this *Discourse* to a length beyond what is intended, should I mention the several *Laws* against *Papists* as well as against *Heretics*, that are suspended, stop'd, disabled, and dispensed with, in the two forementioned *Royal Papers*, and it would be an extending it much more, should I make the several *Reflections* that the matter is capable of, and which a person of a very ordinary understanding cannot be greatly to seek for; I shall therefore onely take notice of two or

or three Efforts which occur there of this Royal Prerogative and Absolute Power, which as they are very bold and ample Exertions of them for the first time; so should the next Exertises of them be proportionable, there will be nothing left us of the Protestant Religion, or of English Liberties, and we must be contented to be Papists and Slaves, or else to stand adjudged to Tyburn and Smithfield. One is the *Suspending the Laws* which enjoin the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the prohibiting that these Oaths be at any time hereafter required to be taken; by which single Exertise of Royal Prerogative and Absolute Power, the two Kingdoms are not only again subjected to a forraign Jurisdiction, the Miseries whereof they groaned under for several Ages; but as the King is hereby deprived of the greatest Security, he had from his Subjects both to himself and the Government, so the Crown is robb'd of one of its chiefest Jewels, naniely an Authority over all the Subjects, which was thought so essential to Sovereignty and Royal Dignity, that it was annex'd to the Imperial Crown of England, and adjudg'd inherent in the Monarch, before the Reformed Religion came to be received and established. And it concerns their Royal Highnesses of Orange, to whom the Right of succeeding to the crown of Great Britain unquestionably belongs, to consider whether his Majesty may not by the same Authority, whereby he alienates and gives away so considerable and inherent a Branch of the Royal Jurisdiction, transfer the Succession it self, and dispose the Inheritance of the Crown to whom he pleaseth. Nor will they about him, who thrust the last King out of the Throne, to make room for his present Majesty, much scruple to put a Protestant Successour by it, if they can find another Papist as Bigotted as this to advance into it. However were they on the Throne to morrow, here is both a forraign Jurisdiction brought in and set up to Rival and Control theirs, and they are deprived of all means of being secured of the Loyalty and Fidelity of a great number of their Subjects. Nor will his Majesty's certain knowledge and

long experience (whereof he boasts in the Scots Proclamation) that the Catholics, as it is their Principle, to be good Christians, so it is to be dutiful Subjects, be enough for their Royal Highnesses to rely upon, their Religion obliging them to the contrary towards Princes, whom the Church of Rome hath adjudged to be Hereticks. A second Instance wherein this pretended Royal Prerogative is exercised paramount to all Laws, and which nothing but a Claim of Absolute Power in his Majesty can support, and an Acknowledgment of it by the Subjects make them approve the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and the Proclamation for Toleration; is the stopping, disabling and suspending the Statutes whereby the Tests were enacted, and thereby letting the Papists in to all Benefices, Offices, and Places of Trust, whether Civil, Military, or Ecclesiastick. I do not speak of Suspending the Execution of those Laws, whereby the being Priests, or taking Orders in the Church of Rome, or the being reconciled to that Church, or the Papists Meeting to celebrate Mass, were in one degree, or another made punishable, (tho' the King's Dispensing with them by a challenged Claim in the Crown be altogether illegal) for as divers of these Laws were never approved by many Protestants, so nothing would have justified the making of them, but the many Treasons and Conspiracies that they were from time to time found guilty of against the State. And as the Papists of all men have the least cause to complain of the Injustice, Rigour, and severity of them, considering the many Laws more Cruel and Sanguinary that are in force in most Popish Countries against Protestants, and these enacted and executed meerly for their Opinions and Practices in the Matters of GOD, without their being chargeable with Crimes and Offences against the Civil Government under which they live; so were it necessary from Principles of Religion and Policy, to relieve the Roman Catholics from the forementioned Laws, yet it ought not to be done but by the Legislative Authority of the Kingdoms, and for the King

King to assume a power of doing it in the virtue of a pretended prerogative, is both a high *Usurpation* over the *Laws*, and a *Violation* of his *Coronation Oath*. Nor is it any Commendation either of the *Humanity* of the *Papists*, or of the *Meekness* and *Truth* of their *Religion*, that while they elsewhere treat those who differ from them in Faith and Worship with that Barbarity, they should so clamorously inveigh against the severities which in some Reformed *States* they are liable unto, and which their *Treasons* gave the Rise and Provocation unto at first, and have been at all times the Motives to the infliction of. But they alone would have the Allowance to be Cruel wherein they act consonantly to their own *Tenets*; and I wish that some Provision might be made for the future, for the *security* of our *Religion*, and our Safety in the Profession of it, without the doing any thing that may unbecome the Merciful Principles of *Christianity*, or be unfuitable to the Meek and Generous Temper of the *English* Nation, and that the Property of being *Sanguinary* may be left to the *Church of Rome* as its peculiar Privilege and Glory, and as a more distinguishing Character than all the other Marks which she pretends unto. That which I am speaking of, is the suspending the Execution of those *Laws*, by which the Government was secured of the *Fidelity* of its *Subjects*; and by which they in whom it could not confide, were merely shut out from Places of Power and Trust, and were made liable to very small Damages themselves, and only hindered from getting into Condition of doing Mischief to us. All Governments have a Right to use Means for their own Preservation, provided they be not such as are inconsistent with the Ends of Government, and repugnant to the Will and Pleasure of the Supreme Sovereign of Mankind, and it is in the Power of every Legislative Assembly to declare who of the Community shall be capable or incapable of Publick Imp'oyes, and of possessing Offices, upon which the Peace, Welfare, and Security of the whole

Politick Body does depend. Without this no Government could subsist, nor the People be in Safety under it; but the Constitution would be in constant Danger of being subverted, and the Privileges, Liberties, and Religion of the Subjects laid open to be overthrown. And should such a Power in Legislators, be upon weak Suspicions and ill-grounded Jealousies, carried at any time too far, and some prove to be debarred from Trusts, whose being imployed would import no Hazzard; yet the worst of that, would be only a disrespect shewn to individual Persons, who might deserve more Favour and Esteem, but could be of no Prejudice to the Society, there being always a sufficient Number of others, fit for the Discharge of all Offices, in whom an entire Confidence may be reposed. And 'tis remarkable, That the States General of the United Provinces, who afford the greatest Liberty to all Religions, that any known State in Europe giveth; yet they suffer no *Papists* to come into Places of Authority and Judicature, nor to bear any Office in the Republick that may either put them into a Condition, or lay them under a Temptation of attempting and thing to the Prejudice of Religion, or for the betraying the Liberty of the Provinces. And as 'tis lawful for any Government to preclude all such Persons from Publick Trusts, of whose Enmity and Ill-will to the Establishment in Church or State, they have either a Moral Certainty, or just Grounds of Suspicion; so 'tis no less lawful to provide Tests for their Discovery and Detection, that they may not be able to mask or vizard themselves in order to getting into Offices, and thereupon of Promoting and Accomplishing their Mischievous and Malicious Intentions. Nor is it possible in such a Case, but that the Tests they are to be tryed by, must relate to some of those Principles by which they are most eminently distinguished from them to the National Settlement, and in reference whereunto they think it most peculiar to dissemble their Opinion. Nor have the *Papists* cause to be offended,

that the *Renouncing the Belief of Transubstantiation* should be required as the distinguishing mark whereby upon their refusal, they may be discerned, when all the penalty upon their being known, is only to be excluded from a share in the *Legislation*, and not to be admitted to *Emp'oyments of Trust and Profit*; seeing it hath been and still is their Custom, to require the *Belief of the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament*, as that upon the not Acknowledgment whereof we are to be accounted *Heresicks*, and to stand condemned to be *burnt*, which is somewhat worse than the not being allowed to sit in the two *Houses of Parliament*, or to be shut out from a *Civil or Military Office*. Neither are they required to *Declare* much less to *Swear*, that the *Doctrine of Transubstantiation* is false, or that there is no such thing as *Transubstantiation*, (as is affirmed in a scurrilous *Paper* written against the *Loyalty of the Church of England*) but all that is enjoined in the *Test Acts*, is that, *I A. B. do declare, That I do believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, or the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person whatsoever.* Tho' the *Parliament* was willing to use all the care they could, for the discovering *Papists*, that the *Provision* for our Security, unto which those *Acts* were designed, might be the more effectual; yet they were not so void of Understanding, as to prescribe a *Method* for it, which would have exposed them to the *World* for their Folly, 'Tis much different to say, swear, or declare, that *I do believe there is not any Transubstantiation*, and the saying or declaring that *there is not a Transubstantiation*; the former being only expressive of what my *Sentiment* or *Opinion* is, and not at all affecting the *Doctrine* it self, to make or unmake it, other than what it is, independently upon my Judgment of it; whereas the latter does primarily Affect the *Object* and the Determination of its existence to such a mode as I conceive it; and there are a thousand things which I can say that I do not believe, but I dare not say that they are not. Now as 'tis the Dis-

puting with these *Laws* that argues the *Kings assuming an Absolute Power*; so the Addressing by way of *Thanks* for the *Declaration* wherein this *Power* is exerted, is no less than an owning and acknowledging of it, and that it rightfully belongs to him. There is a third thing which *Shame* or *fear* would not suffer them to put into the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in England*, but which they have had the *Impudence* to insert into the *Proclamation from a Toleration in Scotland*, which as it carries *Absolute Power* written in forehead of it, so it is such an unprecedented exercise of *Despoticalness*, as hardly any of the *Oriental Tyrants* or even the *French Leviathan* would have ventured upon. For having *supr, disabled and Suspended* all *Laws* enjoyning any *Oath*, whereby our *Religion* was secured, and the *Preservation* of it to us and our *Posterity* was provided for; he imposeth a new *Oath* upon his *Scots Subjects*, whereby they are to be bound to defend and maintain him, his *Heirs* and *Lawful Successors* in the Exercise of their *absolute Power and Authority* against all deadly. The imposing an *Oath* upon *Subjects* hath always lookt upon as the highest *Act of Legislative Authority*, in that it affects their *Consciences*, and requires the *Approbation* or *Disapprobation* of their *Minds and Judgments*, in reference to whatsoever it is enjoined for; whereas a *Law* that affects only men's *Estates* may be submitted unto, tho in the mean time they think that which is exacted of them to be unreasonable and unjust. And as it concerns both the *Wisdom and Justice of Law-givers* to be very tender in *Ordaining Oaths* that are to be taken by *Subjects*, and that not only from a *Care* that they may not *Prostitute* the name of *God* to *Prophanation* when the *Matter* about which they are imposed, is either *Light and Trivial*, or *Dubious and Uncertain*, but because it is an *Exercise of Jurisdiction* over the *Souls of Men*, which is more than if it were only exercised over the *Goods, Bodies and Privileges*; so never any of our *Kings* pretended to a *Right* of enjoying and requiring an *Oath* that was not first *Enacted and specified* in some *Law*; and it would have been

been heretofore accounted a good Plea for refusing such or ſuch an *Oath*, to ſay there was no *Statute* that had required it. It was one of the *Articles* of High Treason (and the moſt material) charged upon the Earl of *Strafford*, that being Lord *Deputy* of *Ireland*, he required an *Oath* of the *Scots* who inhabited there, which no Law had ordained or preſcribed; which may make thoſe *Counſellors* who have adviſed the *King* to impoſe this new *Oath*, as well as all others that ſhall require it to be taken upon his *Majeſties* bare *Au- thority*, to be a little apprehenſive, whether it may not at ſometime riſe in Judgment againſt them, and prove a Forfeiture of their Lives to Juſtice. And as the impoſing an *Oath* not warranted by Law is a high Act of *Absolute Power*, and in the *King* an altering of the *Conſtitution*; ſo if we look into the *Oath* it ſelf, we ſhall find this *Absolute Power* ſtrangely maniſeſted and diſplayed in all the Parts and Branches of it, and the People required to ſwear themſelves his *Majeſties* moſt obedient *Slaves* and *Vaſſals*. By one Paragraph of it, they are required to ſwear that it is unlawful for Subjects on any Preſence, or for any Cauſe whatſoever to riſe in Arms againſt him, or any commiſſioned by him; and that they ſhall never reſiſt his Power or Authority; which as it may be intended for a Foundation and Means of keeping Men quiet when he ſhall break in upon their *Eſtates* and overthrow their *Religion*, ſo it may be deſigned as an Encouragement to his *Catholick Subjects*, to ſet upon the cutting *Proteſtants Throats*, when by this *Oath* their Hands are tied up from hindring them. It is but for the *Papiſts* to come Authorized with his *Majeſties* Commiſſion, which will not be denied them for ſo meritorious a Work, and then there is no Help nor Remedy, but we muſt ſtretch out our Necks, and open our Breſts, to their conſecrated Swords, and ſanctified Daggers. Nay, if the *King* ſhould transfer the Succeſſion to the Crown from the *Rightful Heir* to ſome zealous *Romaniſt*, or *Alien* and diſpoſe his Kingdoms in way of *Donation* and *Gift* to the *Pope*, or to the *Society* of the *Jefuites*, and for

the better ſecuring them in the Poſſeſſion hereafter, ſhould inveſt and place them in the enjoyment of them while he lives; the *Scots* are bound in the virtue of this *Oath* rately to look on, and calmly to acquieſce in it. Or ſhould his *Physicians* adviſe him to a nightly variety of *Marrons* and *Maid*s, as the beſt Remedy againſt his malignant and venomous Heats; all of that Kingdom are bound to ſurrender their *Wives* and *Daughters* to him, with a dutiful Silence and a profound Veneration. And if by this *Oath* he can ſecure himſelf from the Oppoſition of his *Diſſenting Subjects* in caſe through recovery of their Reaſon a fit of ancient Zeal ſhould ſurpriſe them; he is otherways ſecured of an *Aſiatick* Tameneſs in his *prelatical* People, by a Principle which they have late imbibed, but neither learned from their *Bibles* nor the *Statutes* of the Land. For the *Clergy* upon thinking that the Wind would always blow out of one Quarter, and being reſolved to make that a Duty by their Learning, which their Intereſt at that Season made Convenient; have preached up the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* to ſuch a boundleſs height, that they have done what in them lyes, to give up themſelves and all that had the Weakneſs to believe them, ſtattered and bound for Sacrifices to *popiſh* Rage and *deſpotical* Tyranny. But for my ſelf (and I hope the like of many others) I thank God I am not tainted with that *Slaviſh* and *Adulterous* Doctrine, as having always thought that the firſt Duty of every Member of a *Body Politick*, is to the Community, for whole Safety and Good Governours are inſtituted, and that it is only to *Rulers* as they are found to answer the main Ends they are appointed for, and to Act by the Legal Rules that are chalked out unto them. Whether it be from my *Dulneſs*, or that my Understanding is of a perverſer Make than other Mens, I cannot tell; but I could never yet be otherways minded, than that the Rules of the *Conſtitution* and the Laws of the *Republick* or *Kingdom*, are to be the Measures both of the *Sovereigns* Commands, and of the *Subjects* Obedience; and that as we are not to invade what by *Conceſſions* and *gr-*

paulsons belongs unto the *Ruler*, so we may not only lawfully, but we ought to defend what is reserved to our selves, if it be invaded and broken in upon. And as without such a Right in the Subjects, all *legal Governments*, and *mixt Monarchies*, were but empty Names and ridiculous things; so wherefoever the *Constitution* of a *Nation* is such, there the *Prince* who strives to subvert the *Laws* of the *Society* is the *Traitor* and *Rebel*; and not the *People* who endeavour to preserve and defend them. There is yet another Branch of the foresaid *Oath*, that is of a much more unreasonable Strain than the former, which is, *that they shall to the utmost of their Power assist, defend and maintain him in the exercise of this Absolute Power and Authority*; which being tack't to our *Obedying without reserve*; make us the greatest *Slaves*, that either are, or ever were in the Universe. Our *Kings* were heretofore bound to Govern according to Law (and so is his present *Majesty*, if a *Coronation Oath*, and *Faith to Hereticks*, were not weaker than *Sampson's Cords* proved to be) but instead of that, here is a new *Oath* imposed upon the Subjects by which they are bound to protect and defend the *King* in his *Ruling Arbitrarily*. It had been more than enough to have required only a calm submitting to the Exercise of *Absolute Power*; but to be enjoined to swear to *Assist and Defend his Majesty* and *Successors* in all things wherein they shall exert it, is a Plain destroying of all natural as well as *Civil Liberty*, and a robbing us of that Freedom that belongs unto us both as we are *Men*, and as we are born under a *Free and Legal Government*. For by this we become bound to drag our Brethren to the Stake, to cut their Throats, plunder their Houses, embrew our Hands in the Blood of our Wives and Children, if his *Majesty* please to make these the Instances wherein he will exert his *Absolute Power*, and require us to *assist him in the Exercise of it*. As it was necessary to cancel all other *Oaths* and *Tests*, as being directly inconsistent with this; so the requiring the *Scots* to swear this *Oath*, is the highest Revenge he could take for their *Solemn League*

and *Covenant* and for all other *Oaths*, that lust after *Arbitrariness*, and *Popish Bigotry*, will pronounce to have been injurious to the *Crown*. But no Words are sufficient to express the Mischiefs wrapt up in that new *Oath*, or to declare the Abhorrency that all who value the *Rights* and *Liberties* of *Mankind* ought to entertain for it, nor to proclaim the Villany of those who shall by *Addresses* give Thanks for the *Proclamation*. There may a fourth thing be added, whereby it will appear that his *Majesties* assuming *Absolute Power*, stands recorded in Capital Letters in his *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conscience*. For not being contented to omit the requiring the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* and the *Test Oaths* to be taken, nor being satisfied to suspend for a Season the enjoying any to be demanded to take them; he tells us that it is his *Royal Will and Pleasure* that the foresaid *Oaths* shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, which is a full and direct *Repealing* of the *Laws* in which they are Enacted. It hath hitherto passed for an undoubted *Maxim*, That *eorum est tollere, quorum est condere, they can only abrogate Laws, who have Power and Authority to make them*; and we have heretofore been made believe, That the *Legislative Power* was not in the *King* alone, but that the two *Houses of Parliament* had at least a Share in it; whereas here by the disabling and suspending *Laws* for ever, the whole *Legislative Power* is challenged to be vested in the *King*, and at one dash the *Government* of *England* is subverted and changed. Tho it hath been much disputed whether the *King* had a *Liberty* of Refusing to *Assent* to *Bills* relating to the Benefit of the Publick that had passed the two *Houses*, and if there be any Sense in those Words of the *Coronation Oath* of his being bound to Govern according to the *Laws, quas vulgus elegerit*, he had not; yet none till now, that his *Majesty* doth it, had the impudence to affirm that he might *abrogate Laws* without the Concurrence and Assent of the *Lords* and *Commons*. For to say that *Oaths* enjoined by *Laws* to be required to be taken, shall not at any time hereafter be required

red to be taken, is a plain *cancelling* and *repealing* of these *Laws*, or nothing of this World ever was or is, nor can the wisdom of the Nation in *Parliament* assembled, find words more emphatical to declare their *Abrogation*, without saying so, which at this time was necessary to forbear for fear of alarming the *Kingdom* too far, before his *Majesty* be sufficiently provided against it. For admitting them to continue still in being and force, though the *King* may promise for the *non-execution* of them, during his own time, (which is even a pretty bold undertaking) yet he cannot assure us that the *Oaths* shall not be required to be taken at any time hereafter, unless he have provided for an eternal Line of *Papish Successors*, which God will not be so unmerciful as to plague us with, or have gotten a *Lease* of a longer Life than *Methuselah's*, which is much more than the full *Century* of years wished him in a late *Dedication*, by one that styles himself an *Irishman*, a thing he might have forborn telling us, because the *Size* of his Understanding fully declares it. However here is such a stroke and exercise of *Absolute Power* as dissolves the *Government*, and brings us all into a *State of Nature*, by discharging us from the *Ties*, which by virtue of *fundamental Stipulations* and *Statute-Laws*, we formerly lay under; forasmuch as we know no *King* but a *King* by *Law*, nor no *Power* he has but a *Legal Power*. Which thro' disclaiming by a challenge that the whole *Legislative Authority* does reside in himself, he hath thrown the *Gauntlet* to three *Kingdoms*, and provokes them to a *Trial*, whether he be able to maintain his *Absoluteness*, or they to justify their being a *free People*. And by virtue of the same *Royal Will and Pleasure*, that he annuls (which he calls *Suspending*) the *Laws* enjoying the *Tests*, and the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and commands that none of these *Oaths* and *Declarations* shall at any time hereafter be required to be taken; he may in some following *Royal Papers*, give us *White Hall* or *Hampton Court-Edicts*, conformable to those at *Versailles*, which at all times hereafter we shall be bound

to submit unto, and stand obliged to be ruled by instead of the *Common Law* and *Statute-Book*. Nor is the taking upon him to stamp us new *Laws*, exclusively of *Parliamentary* concurrence; in the virtue of his *Royal Prerogative*, any thing more uncouth in it self, or more disagreeable to the *Rules* of the *Constitution* and what we have been constantly accustomed unto, than the *cassing*, *disabling*, and *abrogating* so many old ones, which that *obsolete*, out of date, as well as ill favoured thing upon *Monarchs*, called a *Parliament*, had a share in the Enacting of. I will not say that our *Addressees* were conscious, that the getting an *Absolute Power* in his *Majesty*, to be owned and acknowledged, was one of the *Ends* for which the *Declaration* was calculated and emitted, but I think I have sufficiently denionstrated both that such a *Power* it issues and flows from, and that such a *Power* is plainly exercised in it. Which whether their coming now to be told and made acquainted with it, may make them repent what they have done, or at least prevent their being accessory to the support of this *Power* in other mischievous effects that are to be dreaded from it, I must leave to time to make the discovery, it being impossible to foretel what a *People* fallen into a *Frenzie* may do in their *Paroxysms* of *Distraction* and *Madness*.

Nor was the *Screwing* himself into the possession of an *Absolute Power*, and the getting it to be owned by at least a part of the *People*, the only *Motive* to the publishing the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* in *England*, and the *Proclamation for a Toleration* in *Scotland*; but a *second Inducement*, that sway'd unto it, was the *undermining* and *subverting* the *Protestant Religion*, and the opening a *Door* for the *introduction* and *establishment* of *Popery*. Nor was it from any compassion to *Dissenters*, that these two *Royal Papers* were emitted, but from his *Majesties* tender Love to *Papists*, to whom as there arise many *Advantages* for the present, so the whole *Benefit* will be found to redound to them in the issue. We are told (as I have

I have already mentioned) *That the King is resolved to convert England, or to die a Martyr*; and we may be sure that if he did not think the suspending the *Penal Laws*, and the *Dispensing* with requiring of the *Tests*, and the granting *Liberty and Toleration*, to be means admirably adapted thereunto, he would not have acted so inconsistently with himself, nor in that opposition to his own *Designs*, as to have disabled these *Laws*, and vouchsafed the Freedom that results thereupon. Especially when we are told by the *Liege Jesuite*, That the *King* being sensible of his growing old, finds himself thereby obliged to make the greater haste, and to take the larger steps, lest through not living long enough to effect what he intends, he should not only lose the Glory of converting three Kingdoms, but should leave the *Papists* in a worse condition than he found them. His Highness the Prince of Orange very justly concludes this to be the thing aim'd at by the present *Indulgence*, and therefore being desir'd to approve the *Suspension* of the *Test-Acts*, and to co-operate with his Majesty for the obtaining their being repealed; was pleas'd to Answer, *That while he was, as well as professeth himself, a Protestant, he would not Act so unworthily as to betray the Protestant Religion, which he necessarily must, if he should do as he was desir'd.* Her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange, has likewise the same apprehension of the Tendency of the *Toleration* and *Indulgence*, and therefore was pleas'd to say to some Scotch Ministers, that did themselves the honour, and performed the Duty that became them, in going to wait upon Her, that She greatly commended their having no accession to the betraying of the Protestant Religion, by their returning home to take the benefit of the *Toleration*. What an indelible Reproach will it be to a Company of men, that pretend to be set for the defence of the Gospel, and who stile themselves Ministers of Jesus Christ, to be found betraying Religion, through justifying the *Suspension* of so many *Laws* whereby it was established and supported, and whereby the Kingdoms were Fenced about, and

guarded against *Papery*; while these *Noble Princes* to the neglect of their own Interest in His Majesties Favour, and to the provoking Him to do them all the prejudice He can in their Right of Succession to the Imperial Crowns of Great Britain, do signify their open dislike of that Act of the King, and that not only upon the account of its illegality and Arbitrariness, but by reason of its tendency to supplant and undermine the Reformed Religion. And they are strangely blind that do not see how powerfully it operates, and conduceth to the effecting of this, and that in more ways and methods than are easie to be accounted. For thereby our Divisions are not only kept up at a time, when the united Councils and Strength of all Protestants is too little against the Craft and Power of Rome; but they who have Address'd to thank the King for his Royal Papers, are become a listed and enrolled Faction, to abet and stand by the King in all that naturally follows to be done for the maintaining his Declaration, and justifying of the usurped Authority from which it issues. 'Tis matter of a melancholy consideration, and turns little to the credit of Dissenters, that when they of the Church of England, who had with so great indiscretion promoted things to that pass, which an easie improvement of would produce what hath since ensued, are through being at last enlightned in the Designs of the Court, come so far to recover their Wits, as that they can no longer do the service they were wont, and which was still expected from them; there should be a new Tribe of men muster'd up to stand in their room, and who by their Vows and Promises made to the King in their Addresses, have undertaken to perform, what others have the Conscience and Honesty, as well as the Wisdom, to refuse and decline. Nor are the Divisions among Protestants only hereby upheld and maintained; but our Animosities and Rancors are both continued and enflamed. For while they of the Established way are provoked and exasperated to see all the Legal

Foundations both of the *Protestant Religion* and their *Church* subverted; the *Addressers* are emboldened, to revenge themselves upon the *National Clergy*, in Terms of the utmost Opprobry, Virulence, and Reproach, for their accession to the Sufferings which they had endured. Surely it would have been not only more *Generous*, but much more *Christian*, and becoming good as well as wise men, to have made no other Re-aliations but those of Forgiveness and Pardon for the Injuries they had met with; and to have offered all the Assurances they could give to their *Conformable Brethren*, for the Stemming and withstanding the deluge of *Popery* and *Tyranny* that is impetuously breaking in upon the *Kingdoms*. And as this would have united all *Protestants* in Bonds of Forbearance and Love not to be dissolved through petty Differences about *Discipline*, *Forms of Worship*, and a few *Rites and Ceremonies*; so it would in the sense and judgment of all men, have given them a more triumphant Victory over those that had been their imprudent and peevish Enemies, that if they were to enjoy the Spoils of the *Conformable Clergy*, by being put into possession of their *Cures and Benefices*. The Relation I have stood in to the *Dissenting Party*, and the Kindness I retain for them above all other, make me heartily bewail their losing the happiest opportunity that was ever put into their hands, not only of improving the Compassion which their Calamities had raised for them in the Hearts of the generality into friendship and kindness, but of acquiring such a *Merit* upon the *Nation*, that the utmost Favours which a true *English Protestant Parliament* could hereafter have shewed them, would have been accounted but slender as well as just Recompences. Nor can I forbear to say, that I had rather have seen the Furnace of Afflictions made hotter for them, though it should have been my own lot to be thrown into the most scorching flames, than to have beheld them guilty of those excesses of Folly towards themselves, and of Treachery to Religion, and the Laws of their

Country, which their present ease and a short opportunity afforded them of acquiring gain, have hurried and transported so many of them into. It plainly appears with what aspect upon our Religion the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* was emitted, if we do but observe the advantages the *Papists* have already reapt by it. How is the whole Nation thereupon, not only overflow'd with swarms of *Locusts*, and all places filled with *Priests* and *Jesuites*, but the whole executive Power of the Government, and all preferments of Honour, Interest and Profit are put into *Roman Catholic* hands? So that we are not only exposed to the unwearied and restless importunities of *Seducers*, but through the advancement of *Papists* to all Offices *Civil*, and *Military*, if not *Ecclesiastick*, the *Covetous* become brib'd, the *Timorous* threatned, and the *Prophane* are baited with temptations sutable to their lusts, and they that stand resolved to continue honest, are laid open not only to the bold affronts of *Priests* and *Fryers*, the insolencies of petulant *Popish Justices*, the chicaneries and oppressions of the *Arbitrary Commission-Court*, but to the rage of his Majesty and the danger of being attack'd by his *Armied Squadrons*. To which may be added, that by the same *Prerogative* and *Absolute Power* that his Majesty hath suspended the Laws made for the Protection of our Religion; he may disable and dispence with all the Laws by which it is set up and established. And as it will not be more illegal and *Arbitrary* to make void the Laws for *Protestancy*, than to have suspended those against *Popery*; so I do not see how the *Addressers* that have approved the One, can disallow or condemn the Other. For the King having obtained an Acknowledgment of his *Absolute Power*, and of his *Royal Prerogative*, paramount to Laws on his exercising it in one Instance; it now depends meetly upon his own Will (for any thing these Thanks giving Gentlemen have to say against it) whether he may not exert it in another, wherein they are not likely to find so much of their ease and gain. There is a third Inducement to the Emitting those

those Royal Papers, which tho' at the first view, it may seem wholly to regard *Forreigners*, yet it ultimately terminates in the subversion of our *Religion* at home, and in the *Kings* putting himself into a condition of exercising his *Absolute Power* in whatsoever *Acts* he pleaseth over his own *Subjects*, whether after the *French* fashion in commanding them to turn *Catholicks* because he will have it so, or after the manner of the *Grand Seigneur*, to require them to submit their *Necks* to the *Bow-string*; because he is jealous of them, or wants their *Estates* to pay his *Fanizaries*. The *United Provinces* are they whom he bore a particular spleen and indignation unto, when he was a *Subject*, and upon whom he is now in the *Throne*, he resolves not only to wreak all his old malice, but by conquering and subduing them (if he can) to strengthen his *Absoluteness* over his own *People*, and to pave his way for overthrowing the *Protestant Religion* in *Great Britain*, without lying open to the hazards that may otherwise attend and ensue upon the attempting of it. And instead of expecting nothing from him, but what may become a brave and generous *Enemy*, they ought to remember the encouragement that he gave heretofore to two *Varlets*, to burn that part of their *Fleet* which belong'd to *Amsterdam*, an *Action* as ignominious as fraudulent, and that might have been fatal to all the *Provinces*, if thro' a happy and seasonable detection and the apprehension of one of the *Miscreants*, it had not been prevented. He knows that the *States General* are not only zealous *Assertors* of the *Protestant Religion*, but always ready to afford a *Sanctuary* and a place of *Refuge* to those, who being oppressed for the profession of it elsewhere, are forced to forsake their own *Countries*, and to seek for shelter and relief in other parts. And as he is not unsensible, how easie the withdrawalment and flight is into these *Provinces*, for such as are persecuted in his *Dominions*; so he is aware, that if *Multitudes*, and especially *Men of Condition* and *Estates*, should for the avoiding his

cruelty betake themselves thither, that they would not be unthoughtful of all *Ways* and *Means*, whereby they might redeem their *Country* from *Tyranny*, and restore themselves to the quiet enjoyment of their *Estates* and *Liberties* at home. But that which most enrages him, is the *Figure* which the two *Princes* do make in that *State* (of whose *Succession* to the *Crown* the *Protestants* in *Britain* have so near a prospect) and the *Post* which the *Prince* filleth in that *Government*, so that he dare neither venture to *disinherit Them*, nor impose upon *Them* such *Terms* and *Conditions*, as their *Consciences* will not suffer them to comply with, while either these *States* remain *Free*, or while such *English* and *Scots* as retain a zeal for *Religion* and the ancient *Laws* and *Rights* of their respective *Countries*, can retreat thither under hopes of *Admission* and *Protection*. And so closely are the *Interests* of all *Protestants* in *England* and *Scotland*, woven and in-laid with the *Interest* of the *United Netherlands*, and such is the singular regard that both the one and the other bear to the *Reformed Religion*, the *Liberty* of *Mankind*, and their several *Civil Rights*; that it is impossible for his *Majesty* to embark in a *Design* against the *One*, without resolving at the same time upon the *Ruine* of the *Other*. Neither will the *One* be able to subsist, when once the *Other* is subdu'd and enslav'd. As *Philip* the II. of *Spain*, saw no way so compendious for the restoring himself to the *Sovereignty* and *Tyrannous Rule* over the *Dutch*, as the subjugating of *England*, that helpt to support and assist them; which was the ground of rigging out his formidable *Armado*, and of his *Design* against *England* in 1588. so his *British Majesty* thinks no Method so expeditious for the enslaving his own *People*, as the endeavouring first to subdue the *Dutch*. And as upon the one hand it would be of a threatening consequence to *Holland*, could the *King* subjugate his own *People*, extirpate the *Protestant Religion* out of his *Dominions*, and advance himself to a *Despotic Power*; so upon the other hand, could he conquer the

the *Dutch*, we might with the greatest certainty Date the woful Fate of great Britain, and the loss of all that is valuable to them as men and Christians, from the same moment and Period of time. They are like the *Twins* we read of, whose *Destiny* was to live and die together; and which soever of the *two* is destroyed first, all the hope and comfort that the *other* can pretend unto, is to be last devoured. Now after the advances which His Majesty hath made towards the enslaving his Subjects, and the subverting the *Reformed Religion* in his Kingdoms, he finds it necessary before he venture to give the last and fatal stroke at home, and to enter upon the plenary exercise of his *Absolute Power*, in laying *Parliaments* wholly aside, in cancelling all *Laws* to make way for *Royal Edicts* or *Declarations* of the complexion of the former, and in commanding us to turn *Roman Catholics*, or to be *dragoon'd*; I say, he thinks it needful before he proceed to these, to try whether he can subdue and conquer the *Dutch*, and thereby remove all hopes of shelter, relief, comfort, and assistance from his own People, when he shall afterwards fall upon them. And how much soever the Court endeavours to conceal its design, and strives to complement the *States General* into a confidence that all *Alliances* between them and the *Crown of England* shall be maintained and preserved; yet they not only speak their intentions by several open and visible actions, but some of them cannot forbear to tell it, when their blood is heated, and their heads warmed with a liberal Glass, and a lusty proportion of Wine. Thence it was that a Governing *Papist* lately told a Gentleman after they two had drunk hard together, that they had some *Work* in England that would employ them a little time, but when that was over they would make the *Dutch* fly to the end of the *World*, to find a resting place. *Delenda est Carthago* is engraven upon their hearts, as being that without which *Rome* cannot arrive at the universal Monarchy that it aspires after. It was upon a formed design of a war against the *United Provinces*,

that the *King* hath for these two years stirred up and incited, as well as countenanced and protected the *Algerines* in their *Piracies*, that through their weakning and spoiling the *Dutch* before hand, it may be the more easie a matter for him to subdue them, when he shall think fit to begin his hostilities. 'Tis in order to this, that he hath entred into new and secret *Alliances* with other *Princes*, the purport of which is boldly talkt of in *London*, but whether believed at the *Hague* I cannot tell. For as *Monfr. Barrillon* and *Monfr. Bonrepos* present *Transactions* at *Whitehall* relate to something else than merely to the affair of *Hudsons Bay*; so *Prince George's* errand to *Denmark*, is of more importance than a bare visit, or a naked compliment to his Brother. 'Tis upon this design that all that great *Marine* preparation hath been so long making in the several Ports of *England*; but to the hindring the execution whereof some unexpected and not foreseen accidents have interposed. And it is in subserviency not to be disquieted at home, while he is carrying on this holy war abroad, that the *Declaration for liberty of Conscience* in *England*, and the *Proclamation for a Toleration* in *Scotland*, are granted and published. 'Tis well enough known, how that after the *French King* had, among many other severities exercised against *Protestants*, made them incapable of *Employments* and *Commands*; yet to avoid the consequences that might have ensued thereupon, while he was engaged in war against the *Emperor*, the *King of Spain*, and the *States of Holland*, and to have the aid of his *Reformed Subjects*; he not only intermitted and abated in many other rigours towards them, but in *June 1674*. restored them to a capacity of being employed and preferred. And that this did not flow from any compassion, tenderness or good will towards them; his carriage since the issue of that war, and the miserable condition he hath reduced them unto, does sufficiently testify and declare. Nor can we forget, how that the late *King*, after a rigorous execution of the *Penal Laws* for several years against *Dissenters*; yet being to enter into an unjust

war against the *United Provinces*, Anno 1672. not only forbore all proceedings of that kind, but published a *Declaration* for suspending the Execution of all those *Laws*, and for the allowing them liberty of *Assembling* to worship God in their separate meetings, without being hindered or disturbed. What Principle that proceeded from, and to what End it was calculated, appeared in his behaviour to them afterwards, when neither the danger the Nation was in from the *Papists*, nor the application of several *Parliaments* could prevail for lenity towards them, much less for a *legal Repeal* of those impolitick and unreasonable Statutes. Nor does the present *Indulgence* flow from any kindness to *Fanatics*, but it is only an artifice to stifle their discontents, and to procure their assistance for the destroying of a *Foreign Protestant State*. And it may not be unworthy of observation, that as the *Declaration of Indulgence*, Anno 1672. bore date much about the same time with the *Declaration of war against the Dutch*; so at the very season that his present Majesty emitted his *Declaration for liberty of Conscience*, there were *Commissions of Repisal* prepared and ready to be granted to the *English East India Company* against the *Hollanders*, but which were impressed upon the *Courts* finding that they whom the suspending the Execution of so many *Laws*, and the granting such *Liberties, Rights and Immunities* to the *Papists*, had disgusted and provoked, were far more numerous and their resentments more to be apprehended, than they were, whose murmurings and discontents they had silenced and allay'd by the *liberty* that was granted. Now as it will be at this juncture, when the *Protestant Interest* is so low in the World, and the *Reformed Religion* in so great danger of being destroyed, a most wicked as well as an imprudent Act, to contribute help and aid to the subjugating a people, that are the chief *Protectors* of the *Protestant Religion* that are left, and almost the only *Asserters* of the *Rights and Liberties* of Mankind, so it may fill the *Addressers* with confusion and shame,

that they should have not only justified an Act of his Majesty's that is plainly designed to such a mischievous End, but that they should by the promises and vows that they have made him, have emboldned his Majesty to continue his purposes and Resolutions of a war against the *Dutch*. Which as it must be funestous and fatal to the *Protestant Cause*, in case he should prosper and succeed; so howsoever it should issue, yet the *Addressers*, who have done what in them lies to give encouragement unto it, will be held *Betrayers* of the *Protestant Religion*, both abroad and at home, and judged guilty of all the blood of those of the same Faith with them, that shall be shed in this Quarrel.

That *Liberty* ought to be allowed to men in matters of *Religion*; is no *Plea* whereby the *Kings* giving it in an *Illegal and Arbitrary* manner, can be maintained and justified. Since ever I was capable of Exercising any distinct and coherent Acts of Reason, I have been always of that Mind, that none ought to be persecuted for their Consciences towards God in matters of Faith and Worship. Nor is it one of those things that lye under the power of the *Sovereign* and *Legislative Authority*, to grant or not to grant; but it is a Right settled upon mankind antecedent to all *Civil Constitutions* and *Humane Laws*, having its foundation in the *Law of Nature*, which no *Prince* or *State* can legitimately violate and infringe. The *Magistrate*, as a *Civil Officer* can pretend or claim no power over a people, but what he either derives from the *Divine Charter*, wherein God, the Supreme Institutor of Magistracy has chalkt out the duty of *Rulers* in general, or what the people upon the first and original *Stipulation*, are supposed to have given him in order to the protection, peace and prosperity of the *Society*. But as it does nowhere appear that God hath given any such power to *Governors*, seeing all the Revelations in the Scripture, as well as all the Dictates of Nature, speak a contrary language, so neither can the People upon their choosing such a one to be their *Ruler*, be imagined

gined to transfer and vest such a power in him, for as much as they cannot divest themselves of a power, no more than of a Right, of believing things, as they arrive with a credibility to their several and respective Understandings. As it is in no mans power to believe as he will, but only as he sees cause; so it is the most irrational imagination in the world, to think they should transfer a Right to him whom they have chosen to Govern them, of punishing them for what it is not in their power to he'l. Nor can any thing be plainer, than that God has reserved the Empire over Conscience to himself, and that he hath circumscribed the power of all human Governors to things of a civil and inferior nature. And had God convey'd a Right unto Magistrates of commanding men to be of this or that Religion, and that because they are so, and will have others to be of their mind; it would follow that the People may conform to whatsoever they require, tho by all the Lights of Sense, Reason and Revelation, they are convinced of the falshood of it, seeing whatsoever the Sovereign rightfully Commands, the Subjects may lawfully obey. But tho the persecuting people for matters of meer Religion, be repugnant to the light of Nature, inconsistent with the fundamental Maxims of Reason, directly contrary to the temper and genius, as well as to the Rules of the Gospel, and not only against the safety and interest of Civil Societies, but of a tendency to fill them with confusion, and to arm Subjects to the cutting of one anothers throats; yet Governors may both deny Liberty to those whose principles oblige them to destroy those that are not of their mind, and may in some measure Regulate the Liberty which they vouchsafe to others, whose opinions tho they do not think dangerous to the peace of the Community, yet through judging them erroneous and false, they conceive them dangerous to the Souls of men. As there is a vast difference betwixt Tolerating a Religion, and approving the Religion that is Tolerated; so what a Government doth not approve,

but barely permits and suffers, is brought under Restrictions as to time, place, and number of those professing it, that shall assemble in one meeting; which it were an undecency, to extend to those of the justified and established away. Now whatsoever Restrictions, or Regulations, are Enacted, and ordained by the Legislative Authority, in reference to Religion, or Religious Assemblies; they are not to be stop't, disabled, or suspended, but by the same Authority that Enacted and ordained them. The King says very truly, that Conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of meer Religion; but it does not from thence follow, (unless by the Logick of Whitehall) that without the concurrence of a Parliament, he should suspend and dispense with the Laws, and by a pretended prerogative, relieve any from what they are obnoxious unto by the Statutes of the Realm. His saying, that the forcing people in matters of Religion, spoils Trade, depopulates Countries, discourageth Strangers, and answers not the End of bringing all to an Uniformity for which it is impoyed; would do well in a Speech to the Houses of Parliament, to perswade them to Repeal some certain Laws, or might do well to determine His Majesty to assent to such Bills as a Parliament may prepare and offer, for relieving persons in matters of Conscience; but does not serve for what it is alledged, nor can it warrant his suspending the Laws by his single Authority. And by the way, I know when these very Arguments, were not only despised by His Majesty, and ridiculed by those who took their Che from Court, and had wit to do it, as by the present Bishop of Oxford, in a very ill natur'd Book, called Ecclesiastical Polity; but when the daring to have mentioned them, would have provoked the then Duke of York's indignation, and have exposed the party that did it to discountenance and disgrace. The question is not, what is convenient to be done in some measure and degree, and in reference to those whose Religion does not oblige them to destroy all that differ from

them, when they have opportunity for it; but the point in debate is, who hath the legal power of doing it, and of fixing its bounds and limits. It was never pretended that the King ought to be shut out from a share in *Suspending* and *Repealing* *Laws*; but that the sole *Right* of doing it belongs to him, is what cannot be allowed, without changing the *Constitution*, and placing the whole *Legislative Authority* in His Majesty. And as it is an *Usurpation* in the King to challenge it & a *Treachery* in English Subjects to acknowledge it; so the inconveniencies, that this, or that party, are in the mean time exposed unto, through the *Laws* remaining in force, are rather to be endured, than that a power of giving ease and relief (farther than by connivance) should be confessed to reside in any one, in whom the *Laws* of the Community have not placed it. 'Tis better to undergo hardships under the Execution of unjust *Laws*; than be released from our Troubles, by a *Power Usurped* over all *Laws*. For by the one, the *Measures* of Government, as well as the *Rights* and *Privileges* of a Nation, are destroyed; whereas by the other, only a part of the people are afflicted and unduly dealt with. While we are Governed by *Laws*, tho several of them may be unjust and inconvenient, yet we are under a security as to all other things which those *Laws* have not made liable; but when we fall under an illimited *Prerogative* and *Absolute Power*, we have no longer a Title unto, or a hedge about any thing, but all lies open to the lust and pleasure of him, in whom we have owned that power to be seated. A *Liberty* is what *Dissenters* have a *Right* to Claim, and which the *Legislative Authority* is bound by the *Rules* of Justice and *Duty* as well as by *Principles* of Wisdom and *Discretion* to grant. And I am sorry that while they stood so fair to obtain it in a *Legal* and *Parliamentary* way, any of them by acknowledging a *Right* in another to give it, and that in a manner so subversive of the *Authority* of *Parliament*, should have rendered themselves unworthy to re-

ceive it from them, to whom the power of bestowing it does belong. Not but that a *Toleration* will be always due to their *Principles*, but I know not whether the particular men of those *Principles*, who have by their *Addresses* betrayed the Kingdom, may not come to be judged to have forfeited all share in it, for their *crime* committed against the *Constitution*, and the whole *Politick Society*. Nor is there any thing more just and equal, than that they who surrender and give away the *Rights* both of *Legislators* and *Subjects*; should lose all grace and favour from the former, and all portion among the latter.

And how much soever some Protestant *Dissenters*, may please themselves with the *Liberty*, that at present they enjoy in the vertue of the two *Royal Papers*; yet this may serve to moderate them in their transports of gladness, that they have no solid Security for the continuance of it. For should a *Parliament* null and make void the *Declaration for Liberty*, and impeach the Judges for declaring a power vested in the King to suspend so many *Laws*, and for forbearing upon the Kings *Mandat* to execute them; the freedom that the *Dissenters* possess, would immediately vanish, and have much the same destiny that the *Liberty* had, which was granted unto them by the *Declaration of Indulgence*, anno 1672. Or should the *Parliament* be willing to grant Ease and Indulgence to all Protestants, by a *Bill* prepared for *Repealing* of all the *Laws* formerly made against them, and should only be desirous to preserve in force the *Laws* relating to the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the *Statutes* which enjoin the *Tests*, of whose Execution we never more wanted the benefit in order to our preservation from *Poper*y, and which an *English* *Parliament* cannot be supposed willing to part with, at a time when our *Lives*, *Estates*, and *Religion*, are so visibly threatened to be swallowed up, and destroyed by the *Papists*; in that case we may confidently believe, that the King instead either of *Assenting* to such

a Bill for separate favour to Protestants, or persevering in his Compassion and Kindness of continuing the Suspension of the Laws against *Dissenters*, He would from an inveterate Enmity, as well as from a new contracted Resentment, be stirred up and enraged to the putting the Laws in Execution with greater rigor and severity than hath been seen, or felt heretofore. And all that the *Addressers* would then reap by the Declaration, would be to undergo the furious effects of brutal rage in their Persecutors, and to be unpityed by the Kingdom, and unlamented by their Fellow Protestants. Or should His Majesty in favour to His good *Catholics*, resolve against the meeting of a Parliament, or to *Adjourn* and *Prorogue* them, whensoever he shall find, that instead of Confirming what he hath done, they shall make Null his Declaration, Vain his pretended *Prerogative* Illegal and Arbitrary, and fall upon those mercenary and perjured Villains, who have allowed him a Power transcendent to Law; yet even upon that supposal, which is the best that can be made to support mens hopes in the continuance of the present Liberty, the *Protestant Dissenters* would have but slender Security, all the tenure they have for the Duration of their Freedom being only precarious, and depending merely upon the Kings Word and Promise, which there is small ground to rely upon. Nor can He be true to them, without being false to His Religion, which not only gives Him leave to break His Faith with *Hereticks*, but obligeth Him to it, and to destroy them to boot, and that both under the Pain of Damnation, and of forfeiting His Crown and losing His Dominions. And how far the Promise and Royal Word of a *Catholic* Monarch is to be trusted unto, and depended upon, we have a modern Proof and Evidence in the Behaviour of *Louis de Grand* towards his Reformed Subjects, not only in Repealing the many *Edicts* made and confirmed by himself, as well as his Ancestors, for the free exercise of their Religion; but in the method's he hath always observed, namely to promise them Protection

in the Profession of their Faith, and Practice of their Worship, when he was most steadfastly resolved to subvert their Religion, and was about making some fresh advance, and taking some new step for its Extirpation. Thus when he had firmly purposed not to suffer a Minister to continue a Year in the Kingdom, he at the same time Published an *Edict*, requiring Ministers to serve but three years in one place, and not to return to the Church, where they had first officiated, till after the expiration of twenty years. In the same manner, when he had resolved to Repeal the *Edict* of *Nantes*, and had given injunction for the *Draught*, by which it was to be done; he at the same season, gave the Protestants all assurances of Protection, and of the said *Edicts* being kept inviolable. To which may be added, that shameful and detestable *Chicanery*, in passing His Sacred and Royal Word, that no Violence should be offered any for their Religion, tho at that very moment the *Dragoons* were upon their March, with orders of exercising all manner of Cruelties and Barbarities upon them. So that His Majesty of *Great Britain* hath a pattern lately set him, and that by the Illustrious Monarch whom he so much admires, and whom he makes it his Ambition and Glory to imitate. Nor are we without proofs already, how insignificant the Kings Promises are, (except to delude) and what little confidence ought to be put in them. The disabling and suspending the 13th *Statute* of his late Parliament in *Scotland*, wherein the *Test* was confirmed, and His departing from all His Promises Registered in His Letter, as well as from those contained in the Speech made by the Lord Commissioner, pursuant to the Instructions which he had undoubtedly received, together with his having forgotten and receded from all his Promises made to the Church of *England*, both when Duke of *York*, and since he came to the Crown, are undeniable Evidences, that His Royal Word, is no more Sacred nor binding, than that of some other Monarchs; and that whosoever of the
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Protestants, shall be so foolish as to rely upon it, will find themselves as certainly disappointed and deceived, as they of the Reformed Religion elsewhere have been. And while they of the *Established* way find so small security by the *Laws*, which the King is bound by his *Coronation Oath* to observe; the *Dissenters* cannot expect very much from a naked *Promise*, which as it hath not a solemn *Oath* to enforce it, so 'tis both *Illegal* in the *Making*, and contrary to the *Principles* of his Religion to keep. Nor is it unworthy of Observation, that He hath not only departed from his promises made to the Church of England; but that we are told, in a late Popish Pamphlet, Entitled, *A New Test of the Church of Englands Loyalty*, Published (as it self says) by Authority, that they were all conditional, (to wit, by vertue of some mental Reservation in his Majesty's Breast) and that the *Conformable Clergy* having failed in performing the Conditions, upon which they were made; the King is absolved and discharged from all Obligation of observing them. The Church of England (says he) must give His Majesty leave not to nourish a Snake in his Bosom, but rather to withdraw His Royal Protection, which was promised upon the account of her constant fidelity. Which as it is a plain threatening of all the Legal Clergy, and a Denunciation of the unjust and hard measure they are to look for; So it shakes the Foundation, upon which all credit unto, and reliance upon His Majesty's Word, can be any ways placed. For though Threatnings may have *Tacit Reserves*, because the right of executing them resides in the Threatner, yet Promises are incapable of all latent Conditions, because every Promise vests a Right in the Promise, and that in the virtue of the words in which it is made. But it is the less to be wondred at, if His Majesty fly to *Equivocations* and *Mental Reserves*, being both under the conduct of that Order, and a Member of the Society that first taught and practiced this treacherous piece of *Chicanerie*. However it may inform the *Dissenters*, that if they be not able to answer the

End for which they were depended upon; or be not willing in the manner and degree that is expected; or if it be not for the Interest of the Catholick Cause to have them indulged; in all these Cases, and many more, the King may be pronounced, acquitted, and discharged from all the Promises He hath given them, as having been merely stipulatory and conditional. And as he will be sure then, *finem facere ferendæ alienæ personæ*, To lay aside the disguise that he hath now upon; so if they would reflect either upon his Temper, or upon his Religion, they might now know, *haud gratulam in tanta superbia comitatem*, that a Person of his pride would not stoop to such flattery, (as his Letter to Mr. Alsop expresseth) but in order to some design. But what need other proof of the Fallaciousness of the two Royal Papers, and that no Protestant can reasonably depend upon the Royal Word there laid to pledge for the continuation of their Liberty; but to look into these two Papers themselves, where we shall meet expressions, that may both detract from our belief of His Majesties sincerity, and awaken us to a just jealousy, that the Liberty and Toleration granted by them, are intended to be of no long standing and duration. For while He is pleased to tell us, That the granting His Subjects, the free use of their Religion for the time to come, is an addition to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never been invaded by His Majesty since his coming to the Crown; he doth in effect say, that His Fidelity, Truth and Integrity, in what he grants in Reference to Religion, is to be measured and judged, by the verity that is in what He tells us, as to the never having invaded our Property. And that I may borrow an expression from Mr. Alsop, and to no less a person than the King himself, namely, That tho we pretend to no refined intellectual nor presume to philosophise upon Mysteries of Government, yet we make some pretence to the sense of feeling, and whatever our dulness be, can discern, between what is exacted of us according to Law, and what we are rob'd of by an exercise of Arbitrary Power. For not to

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fist upon the violent seizure of mens Goods, by Officers, as well as Souldiers, in all parts of England, which looks like an invasion upon the properties of the Subject; nor to dwell upon his keeping an Army on foot in time of Peace, against the Authority, as well as without the countenance of Law, which our Ancestors would have stiled an Invasion upon the whole property of the Kingdom; I would fain know, by what name we are to call his levying the customs, and the Additional Excise, before they were granted unto him by the Parliament, all the legal establishment of them upon the nation, having been only, during the late Kings life, till the settlement of them upon the Crown was again renewed by Statute. It were also worth his Majesties telling us, what Titles are due to the suspending the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge à beneficio, and the turning the President of Maudlins in Oxford out of his Headship, and the suspending Dr. Fairfax from his Fellowship, if they be not an Invasion upon our property; seeing every part of this, is against all the known Laws of the Kingdom, and hath been done by no Legal Court, but by a Set of Mercenary Villains, Armed with an Arbitrary Commission, and who do as Arbitrarily Exercise it. And as the End unto which that Inquisition Court was instituted, was to robb us of ours Rights and Priviledges at the meer pleasure of the King; so the very Institution of it, is an Invasion both upon all our Laws, and upon the whole property of the Nation, and is one of the highest Exercises of Despotical Power, that it is possible for the most Absolute and unlimited Monarch to exert. Among all the Rights reserved unto the Subjects by the Rules of the Constitution, and whereof they are secured by many repeated Laws and Statutes, there are none that have been hitherto less disputed, and in reference to which our Kings have been farther from claiming any Power and Authority, than those of levying money without the grant, as well as the consent of Parliament, and of Absolving and Discharging Debtors from paying

their Creditors, and of acquitting them from being sued, and imprisoned in case of non-payment; and yet in defiance of all Law, and to the subverting the Rights of the people and the most Essential Priviledg and Jurisdiction of Parliaments, and to a plain changing the ancient legal Constitution into an Absolute and Despotical Governing Power, the King (they say) is assuming to himself an Authority, both of imposing a Tax of five pound per annum upon every Hackney Coach, and of Releasing and Discharging all Debtors, of whom their Creditors cannot claim and demand above ten pound Sterling; which as they will be signal Invasions upon Property, and leading Cases for the raising money in what other instances he pleaseth, by a Hampton Court, or a Whitehall-Edict, with out standing in need of a Parliament, or being obliged to a dependance upon their Grant, for all Taxes to be levied upon the Subjects, as his Predecessors have heretofore been; so they may serve fully to instruct us what little Security either the Dissenters have, as to being long in the possession of their present Liberty, or Protestants in general of having a freedom continued unto them of professing the Reformed Religion, if we have nothing more to rely upon for preventing our being abridged and denyed the liberty of our Religion, than we have had for preserving our Property from being Invaded and broken in upon. We may subjoyn to the Clause already mentioned, that other Expression, which occurs in the fore-said Declaration, viz. That as he freely gives them leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, so they are to take special care, that nothing be preached or taught amongst them, which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of the People from his Majesty, or his Government; which words, as they import the price at which the Dissenters are to purchase their freedom (whereof we shall discourse anon) so they admirably serve to furnish the King with a pretence, of retrenching their liberty whensoever he pleaseth; nor are they inserted there for any other End; but that upon

upon a plea, of their having abused his Gracious Indulgence to the alienating the hearts of his People from him, they may be adjudged to have thereby deservedly forfeited, both all the benefits of it, and of his Royal Favour. Nor is it possible for a Protestant Minister to Preach one Sermon, which a Popish Critick, or a Romish Bigot, may not easily misconstrue and pervert, to be an alienation of the peoples hearts, from the Kings Person, and Government. And of which as we have heard many late Examples in France, so it will be easie to draw them into President, and to imitate them in England. I might add, the observation of the Ingenious Author of the *Reflections on his Majesty's Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland*; namely, that whereas the King gives all assurance to his Scotch Subjects, that he will not use invincible necessity against any man, on the account of his persuasion, he does thereby leave himself at a liberty, of Dragoning, Torturing, Burning, and doing the utmost violences, all these being vincible to a person of an ardent love to God, and of a lively faith in Jesus Christ; and which accordingly many thousands have been triumphantly victorious over. Nor is it likely that this new and uncouth phrase of *not using an invincible necessity*, would have found room in a Paper of that nature, if it had not been first to conceal some malicious, and mischievous design, and then to justify the consistency of its execution, with what is promised in the Proclamation. Moreover, were there that security intended by these two Royal Papers, that Protestant Dissenters might safely rely upon; or did the King act with that sincerity, which he would delude his People into a belief of, there would then be a greater agreeableness than there is, betwixt the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in England, and the Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland. The principle his Majesty pretends to act from, that Conscience ought not to be constrained, and that none ought to be persecuted for meer matters of Religion, would oblige him to act uniformly, and with an equal, extension of favour to all his Subjects,

whose Principles are the same; and against whom he hath no exception, but in matters merely Religious. Whereas the disparity of Grace, Kindness, and Freedom, that is exercised in the Declaration, from that which is exerted in the Proclamation, plainly shews, that the whole is but a Trick of State, and done in subserviency to an end, which it is not yet seasonable to discover and avow. For his circumscribing the Toleration in Scotland, to such Presbyterians as he styles moderate; is not only a taking it off from its true bottom, matters of meer Religion, and a sounding it upon an internal quality of the mind, that is not discernable, but it implies the reserving a liberty to himself, of withdrawing the benefits of it from all Scotch Dissenters, thro fastning upon them a contrary Character, whensoever it shall be seasonable to revive persecution. And even as it is now exerted to these moderate ones, it is attended with Restrictions, that his Indulgence in England is no ways clog'd with. All that the Declaration requires from those that are indulged, is that their Assemblies, be peaceably, openly, and publicly hold, that all Persons be freely admitted to them, that they signify and make known to some Justice of the peace, what places they set apart for these uses; and that nothing be preached or taught amongst them, which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of the people from the King or his Government; whereas the Proclamation, not only restrains the Meetings, of the Scots Presbyterians to private Houses, without allowing them either to build meeting Houses, or to use out-houses or Barns; but it prohibits the hearing any Ministers, save such as shall be willing to swear, that they shall to the utmost of their Power assist defend, and maintain the King, in exercise of his Absolute power against all deadly. Nor is it difficult to assign the reason, of the deformity that appears in His Majesties present Actings, towards his Dissenting Protestant Subjects in those two Kingdoms. For should there be no Restriction upon the Toleration in Scotland, to hinder the greatest part of, the

the *Presbyterians* from taking the advantage of it; the *Bishops* and *Conforming Clergy* would be immediately forsaken by the generality, if not all the people, and so an issue would not only be put to the division among *Protestants* in that Kingdom, but they would become an united, and thereupon a formidable, Body against *Papery*, which it is not for the interest of the *Roman Catholics* to suffer, or give way unto. Whereas the more unbounded the *Liberty* is, that is granted to *Dissenters* in *England*, the more are our divisions not only kept up, but increased and promoted, (especially thro this Freedom's arriving with them in an illegal way, without both the Authority of the *Legislative Power*, and the approbation of a great part of the People) it being infallibly certain, that there is a vast number of all ranks and conditions, who do prefer the abiding in the Communion of the *Church of England*, before the joining in fellowship with those of the *Separate* and *dissenting Societies*. Upon the whole; this different method of proceeding towards *Dissenting Protestants* in matters merely Religious, shews that all this *Indulgence*, and *Toleration*, is a *Trick* to serve a present juncture of Affairs; and to advance a *Papish* and *Arbitrary* design; and that tho *Dissenters* have no security for the continuance of their *Liberty*, but that when the *Court* and *Jesuitick end* is compassed and obtained, there is another course to be steered towards them; and instead of their hearing any longer, of *Liberty* and *Toleration*, they are to be told, that it is the interest of the Government, and the safety, and honor of his Majesty, to have but one Religion in his Dominions, and that all must be Members of the *Catholic Church*, and this because the King will have it so, which is the Argument that hath been made use of in the making so many Converts in *France*. They who now suffer themselves to be deluded into a confidence in the Royal word, will not only come to understand what Mr. *Coleman* meant, in his telling *Père de la Chaise*, that the *Catholics* in *England* had a great

"work upon their hand, being about the
"extirpation of that Heresie, which hath
"born sway so long in this Northern part of
"the world; but they will also see and feel, how
much the designs of Rome was represented in that passage of the *Pope's Nuncio's Letter* dated at *Bruxells Aug. 9. 1674.* wherein upon the confidence which they placed in the *Duke of York*, which is not lessened since he came to the Crown, he takes the confidence to write, "that they hop'd speedily to see the total
"and final ruine of the Protestant Party.

And as Protestant Dissenters, have no security by the Declaration, and Proclamation, for the continuance of their Liberty, so they that have by way of thanksgiving Addressed to the King for those Royal Papers, have not only acted very ill in reference both to the Laws and Rights of the Kingdoms and of Religion in general, but they have carried very unwisely in relation to their own interest; and the avoiding the effects of that resentment, which most men are justly possessed with, upon the Illegal Emission of these Arbitrary and Prerogative Papers. I shall not enter upon any long Discourse, concerning this new practice of Addressing in general, it having been done else where some years ago, but I shall only briefly intimate, that it was never in fashion, unless either under a weak and precarious Government, or under one that took Illegal Courses, and pursued a different interest from that of the People and Community. As he who Ruleth according to the standing Laws of a Countrey, over which he is set, needs not seek for an Approbation of his Actions from a part of his Subjects; the Legality of his proceedings being the best Justification of him that Governs, and giving the truest Satisfaction to them that are Ruled; so he who enjoys the love of all his people, needs not look for promises of being assisted, stood by, and defended, by any one Party or Faction among them; there being none from whom he can have the least apprehension of opposition and danger. It was the want of a Legal Title in *Oliver Cromwell*, and his Son *Richard*, to the Government, that first begot this device

device of *Addressing*, and brought it upon the stage in these *British Nations*; and it was the *Arbitrary* procedure of the late *King*, as it is of his present *Majesty*, and their acting upon a distinct bottom from that of the three *Kingdoms*, that hath revived, and does continue it. Not is there any thing, that hath rendred those two *Princes* more contemptible abroad, and proclaimed them weaker at home, than their recurring unto, and soliciting, the flatteries and aid, of the mercenary, timorous, servile, and for low and personal ends byas'd part, of their Subjects, and thereby telling the World, that neither the generality nor the most honorable of their People have been usied in their Interest, nor approvers of the Councils that have been taken and pursued. And if any thing did ever cast a dishonor upon the *English Nation*, it hath been that loathsome flattery, and slavish Sycophancy, wherewith the *Addressers*, both now, and for some years past, have stufft their applications to the two *Royal Brothers*. The *Throne* that is sustained and upheld by the *Pillars of Law and Justice*, need not to hew out unto its self other Supporters, nor lean upon the crooked and weak *stiles* of the insignificant, and for the most parts deceitful as well as brib'd Vows, of a sort of men, who will be as ready upon the least disgust, to cry *crucify* to morrow, as they were for being gratified, may be in their lusts, humours, and revenges, and at the best in some separate concern, to cry *Hosanna* to say. I shall decline prosecuting what concerns the honor, or dishonor, of him, to whom the *Adresses* are made, or how politick, or impolitick, the countenancing and encouraging them is; and shall apply my self to this new set of *Addressers*, and endeavour to shew how foolish as well as criminally they have acted. Nor is it an argument either of their prudence or honesty, or of their acting with any consistency to themselves, that having so severely inveighed against the *Addresser*, that were in fashion a few years ago, and having fast-

ned all the imputations and reproaches upon those that were accessory to them, which that rank of *Addressers* could be supposed to have deserved, they now espouse the practice which they had condemn'd, and in-reference to as *Arbitrary* and an unjustifiable an act of His present *Majesty*, as the most illegal one the late *King* was guilty of, or the worst exercise of *prerogative*, for which any heretofore either commended, or promised to stand by him. For tho the matter and subject of the *Arbitrary Act* of him now upon the *Throne*, be not as to every branch or it so publickly scandalous, as some of the *Arbitrary* proceedings of the late *King* were, (as relating to a favour which mankind hath a just claim unto) yet it is every way as illegal, being in reference to a privileged, which His *Majesty* hath no *Authority* to grant and bestow. And were it not that there are many *Dissenters*, who preserve themselves innocent at this juncture, and upon whom the temptation that is administered makes no impression; the world would have just ground to say, that the *Thanatists* are not governed by Principles, but that the measures they walk by, are what conduceth to their private and personal benefit, or what lyes in a tendency to their loss and prejudice. And that it was not the late *King's* usurping, and exerting, an *Arbitrary* and illegal power, that offended them; but that they were not the *Objects* in whose favour it was exercised. 'This also an aggravation of their *Folly* as well as their *Offence*, that they should revive a practice which the Nation was grown ashamed of, and whereof they who had been guilty begun to repent, thro having seen that all the former *Declarations*, *Affirmances*, and *Promises* of the *Royal Brothers*, which tempted to applications of that kind, were but so many juggles, peculiar to the late *Breed* of the Family, for the deceiving of mankind; and that never one of them was performed and made good. But the transgression, as well as the imprudence, of the present *Addressers*, is yet the greater, and they are the more crimi-

criminal and inexcusable before God and men; in that they might have enjoyed all the benefits of the *King's Declaration*, without acknowledging the Justice of the *Authority* by which it was granted, or making themselves the scorn and contempt of all that are truly honest and wise, by their servile Adulations, and their gratulatory Scribbles unbecoming *Englishmen* and *Protestants*. They had no more to do, but to continue their meetings, as they had sometimes heretofore used to do, without taking notice that the present Suspension of the *Laws*, made their Assembling together more safe, and freed them from apprehension of fines and imprisonments. Nor could the *King*, how much soever displeased with such a conduct, have at this time ventured upon the expressing displeasure against them; seeing as that would have been both to have proclaimed his hypocrisy, in saying, that *Conscience* ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of meer Religion, and a discovering the villainous design in subserviency to which the *Declaration* had been emitted; so it were not possible for him, after what he hath published, to single out the *Dissenters* from amongst other *Protestants*; and to fall upon all, before matters are more ripe for it, might be a means of the abolition of all his *Popish* Projections, and of saving the whole *Reformed* interest in *Great Britain*. Neither would the *Church of England* men, have envied their tranquillity, or have blamed their carriage; but would have been glad that their *Brethren* had been eased from oppressions, and themselves delivered from the grievous and dishonorable task of prosecuting them, which they had formerly been forced unto by *Court* injunctions and commands. And as they would have by a Conduct of this nature had all the Freedom which they now enjoy, without the guilt and reproach which they have derived upon themselves by *Addressing*; so such a carriage, would have wonderfully recommended them to

the *Favour* of a true *English Parliament*, which tho it will see cause to condemn the *King's* usurping a power of suspending the *Laws*, and to make void his *Declaration*; yet in gratitude to *Dissenters* for such a behaviour, as well as in pity and compassion to them as *English Protestants*, such a *Parliament* would not fail to do all it could, to give them relief in a legal way. Where as if any thing enflame and exasperate the Nation, to revive their sufferings, it will arise from a reitainment of the unworthy and treacherous carriage of so many of them, in this critical and dangerous juncture. But the *Terms*, which thro their *Addressing*, they have owned the receiving their *Liberty* and *Indulgence* upon, does in a peculiar manner enhance their guilt against God, and their Country, and strangely adds to the disgust and anger, which lovers of Religion, and the *Laws* of the Nation have conceived against them. For it is not only upon the acknowledgment of a prerogative in the *King* over the *Laws*, that they have received and now hold their *Liberty*; but it is upon the condition, that nothing be preached or taught amongst them that may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of the People from his Majesty's Person and Government. He must be of an understanding very near allied unto, and approaching to that of an *Irish man*, who does not know what the *Courtsence* of that clause is; and that his Majesty thereby intends, that they are not to preach against *Papery*, nor to set forth the *Doctrines* of the *Romish Church* in terms that may prevent the peoples being infected by them, much less in colours that may render them hated and abhorred. To accuse the *King's Religion* of *Idolatry*, or to affirm the *Church of Rome* to be the *Apocryphal Babylon*, and to represent the *Articles* of the *Protestant Faith*, as faithful *Ministers* of *Christ* ought to do, would be accounted alienating the hearts of their hearers from the *King* and his Government; which as they are in the forefard clause required not to do, so they have by their *Addressing* confessed the *Falsity* of the *Terms*, and have undertaken to

hold their liberty by that *Tenor*. And to give them their due, they have been very faithful hitherto, in conforming to what the King exacts, and in observing what *themselves* have assented to the equity of. For notwithstanding all the danger from *Popery*, that the Nation is exposed unto, and all the hazard that the Souls of men are in, of being poisoned with *Romish* Principles; yet instead of Preaching or Writing against any of the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, they have agreed among themselves, and with such of their Congregations as approve their procedure, not so much as to mention them; but to leave the Province of defending our Religion, and of detecting the falshood of *Papal Tenets*, to the Pastors and Gentlemen of the Church of *England*. And being ask'd (as I know some of them that have been) why they do not preach against Antichrist, and confute the *Papal* Doctrines; they very gravely reply, that by Preaching Christ, they preach against Antichrist: and that by Teaching the Gospel, they Refute *Popery*; which is such a piece of fraudulent and guilful subterfuge, that I want words to express the knavery and criminalness of it. What a reserve and change have I lived to see in *England*, from what I beheld a few years ago. It was but the other day that the Conformable Clergy were represented by some of the Dissenters, not only as Favourers of *Popery*, but as endeavouring to hale it in upon us by all the methods and ways that lay within their circle, and yet now the whole defence of the Reformed Religion must be entirely devolved into their hands; and when all the Sluces are pulled up, that had been made to hinder *Popery* from overflowing the Nation: they must be left alone, to stem the inundation, and prevent the deluge. They among the Fanaticks that boasted to be the most avowed and irreconcilable Enemies of the Church of *Rome*, are not only become altogether silent, when they see the Kingdom pester'd with a swarm of busie and seducing *Emissaries*, but are both turned Advocats for that Arbitrary Paper, whereby we are surrendered as a prey unto them, and do make it their business to

detract from the reputation, and discourage the labours of the National Ministers, who with a Zeal becoming their Office, and a learning which deserves to be admired, have set themselves in opposition to that Croaking fry, and have done enough by their excellent, and unimitable Writings to save People from being deluded and perverted, if either unanswerable Confutations of *Popery*, or demonstrative Defences of the Articles and Doctrines of the Reformed Religion, can have any efficacy upon the minds of men. Among other fulsom flatteries adorning a Speech made to his Majesty, by an Addressing Dissenter, I find this hypocritical and shameful Adulation, namely, that if there should remain any seeds of disloyalty in any of his Subjects, the transcendent goodness exerted in his Declaration would ~~unite~~ *unite* and kill them; to which he might have added with more truth, that the same Transcendent goodness had almost destroyed all the seeds of their honesty, and mortified their care and concernment for the interest of *Jesus Christ*, and for the Reformed Religion. Their old strain of zealous preaching against the Idolatry of *Rome*, and concerning the coming out of *Babylon* my People, are grown out of fashion with them in *England*, and are only reserved, and laid by, to recommend them to the kindness and acceptance of Foreign Protestants, when their occasions and conveniences drew them over to *Amsterdam*. Who-soever comes into their Assemblies, would think for any thing that he there hears delivered from their Pulpits, that She which was the Whore of *Babylon* a few years ago, were now become a Chast Spouse, and that what were heretofore the damnable Doctrines of *Popery*, were of late turned Innocent and Harmless Opinions. The King's Declaration, would seem to have brought some of them to a *Melius inquirendum*, and as they are already arrived to believe a Roman Catholick, the Best King, that they may in a little time come to esteem Papists for the best Christians. *The keeping back nothing that is profitable to save such as bear them, and the declaring the whole Counsel of God*; that are the Terms upon which they received their

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Commission from *Jesus Christ*, and wherein they have *Paul's practice* and example for a pattern, would seem to be things under the Power of the *Royal prerogative*, and that the *King* may supersede them by the same Authority, by which he dispenses with the *Penal Statutes*. Which is it is very agreeable unto, and imported in his Majesty's Claim of being obeyed without reserve; so the owning this *Absolute Power* with that annex of challenged obedience, does acquit them from all obligations to the *Laws of Christ*, when they are found to interfere with what is required by the *King*. But whether *God's Power*, or the *King's*, be superior, and which of the two can cassate the others *Laws*, and whose wrath is most terrible; the judgment day will be able and sure to instruct them, if all means in this world prove insufficient for it. The *Addressers* know upon what conditions they hold their *Liberty*; and they have not only observed how several of the *National Clergy* have been treated for preaching against *Popery*; but they have heard how divers of the *Reformed Ministers* in *France* (before the general suppression) were dealt with, for speaking against their *Monarch's Religion*; and therefore they must be Pardon'd if they carry so, as not to provoke his Majesty, tho' in the mean time thro' their silence, they both betray the Cause of their *Lord and Master*, and are unfaithful to the *Souls* of those, of whom they have taken upon them the spiritual guidance. As for the *Papers* themselves that are stiled by the name of *Addresses*, I shall not meddle with them, being as to the greatest part of them, fitter to be exposed and ridicul'd, either for their dulness and *pedantry*, or for the adulation and sycophancy with which they are fulsomly stuff'd; than to deserve any serious consideration, or to merit reflections that may prove instructive to Mankind. Only as that *Address* wherein his Majesty is thanked for his restoring *God to his Empire over Conscience*, deserveth a rebuke for its *Blasphemy*; so that other which commends him for promising, to force the *Parliament* to ratify his *Declaration*, (tho' by the way all he says is, that he does not doubt

of their concurrence, which yet his ill success upon the chesetting of so many Members, and his since Dissolving that *Parliament*, shews that there was some cause for the donbring of it) I say that other *Address*, merits a severe Censure for its iniolency against the *Legislative Authority*. And the *Authors* of it ought to be punished, for their crime committed against the *Liberty and Freedom* of the two *Houses*, and for encouraging the *King* to invade and subvert their most essential and fundamental *Priviledges*, and without which, they can neither be a *Council*, *Judicature*, nor *Lawgivers*.

After all, I hope the *Nation* will be so ingenuous, as not to impute the mis-carriages of some of the *nonconformists*, to the whole party, much less to ascribe them to the principles of *Dissenters*. For as the points wherein they differ from the *Church of England*, are purely of another Nature, and which have no relation to *Politics*, so the influence that they are adapted to have, upon Men as members of *Civil Societies*, is to make them in a special manner regardful, of the *Right and Franchises* of the *Community*. But if some neither understand the tendency of their own principles nor are true and faithful unto them; these things are the personal faults of those men, and are to be attributed to their ignorance, or to their dishonesty; nor are their carriages to be counted the effects of their *Religious Tenets*, much less are others of the party to be involved under the reproach and guilt of their imprudent and ill conduct. Which there is the more cause to acknowledge, because tho' the *Church of England*, has all the reason of the World, to decline *Addressing*, in that all her *legal Foundation*, as well as *Security*, is shaken by the *Declaration*; yet there are some of her *Dignitaries* and *Clergy*, as well as divers of the *Members* of her *Communion*, who upon motives of *Ambition*, *Covetousness*, *Fear*, or *Courtship*, have enrolled themselves into the *List of Addressers*; and under pretence of giving thanks to the *King*, for his promise of protecting the *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops* and *Clergy* and all other

rber of the Church of England in the Free En-
 cise of their Religion, as by Law Established;
 have cut the Throat of their Mother, at
 whose breasts they have suck't till they are
 grown far, both by acknowledging the as-
 sur'd prerogative upon which the King assumes
 the Right and Authority of Emitting the De-
 claration; and by exchanging the legal stand-
 ing, and Security of their Church, into that
 precarious ONE of the Royal WORD, which
 they fly unto as the bottom of her Subsistence,
 and trust to as the wall of her defence. And
 as most of the Members of the Separate So-
 cieties, are free from all accession to Ad-
 dressing, and the few that concurred were
 merely drawn in by the mbeedle and impor-
 tunity of their Preachers; so they who are
 of the chiefest Character, and greatest repu-
 tation for Wisdom and Learning among
 the Ministers, have preserv'd themselves
 from all Folly and treachery of that kind.
 The Apostle tells us, that not many Wise, nor
 many noble are called; which as it is verifi'd
 in many of the Dissenting Addressers, so it
 may serve for some kind of Apology, for their
 low and sneaking, as well as for their in-
 discretion and impudent behaviour in this mat-
 ter. And it is the more venial in some of
 them, as being not only a means of ingra-
 tiating themselves (as they phancie) with
 the King, who heretofore had so very good
 opinion of them; but as being both an easie
 and compendious method of Attoning for
 Offences against the CROWN, of which they
 were strongly suspected; and a cheap and
 expenceless way of purchasing the pardon
 of their Relations, that had stood actually
 accus'd of high TREASON. Nor is it to be
 doubted, but that as the King will retain
 very little favour and mercy for Fanaticks
 when once he has serv'd his Ends upon
 them; so they will preserve as little kind-
 ness for the PAPISTS, if they can but obtain
 relief in a legal way. And as there is not a
 people in the Kingdom, that will be more
 Loyal to Princes, while they continue so to
 govern, as that fealty by the Laws of God
 or man remain due to them; so there are

none of what principles or communion so-
 ever, upon whom the KINGDOM if its
 whole interest come to lye at stake, may
 more assuredly and with greater confidence
 depend, than upon the generality of Dis-
 senting Protestants, and especially upon those
 that are not of the Pastoral Order. The se-
 verities that the Dissenters lay under before,
 and their deliverance from oppression and
 disturbance now, seconded with the King's
 expectation and demands of thanksgiving
 Addressers, were strong temptations upon
 men void of generosity and greatness of
 Spirit, and who are withal of no great
 Political Wisdom, nor of prospect into the
 Consequences of Councils and Tricks of
 State; to act as illegally, in their thanks, as
 His Majesty had done in his bounty. So that
 whatsoever animadversion they may de-
 serve, should they be proceeded against, ac-
 cording to their demerit; yet it is to be ho-
 ped, that both they, and the Addressers of the
 former stamp, may all find room in an
 ACT of Indemnity, and that the Mercy of the
 Nation towards them, will triumph over and
 get the better of its Justice. As it would ar-
 gue a strange and judicial infatuation, Should
 they proceed to farther excesses, and think
 to escape the punishment due to one Crime,
 by committing and taking Sanctuary in ano-
 ther, thro' improving their Complements
 into actions of treachery; so all their hope of
 pardon, as well as of lenity and modera-
 tion, from a true Protestant and rightly con-
 stituted Authority, depends upon their Conduct
 and Behaviour henceforward, and their not
 suffering themselves to be harried, and de-
 luded, into a co-operation with the Court for
 the obtaining of a Popish Parliament. All their
 endeavours of that kind would but more
 clearly detect, and manifest their treachery
 to Religion and the Kingdom, it not being in
 their power to outvow the honest English
 part of the People, so as to help the King
 to such a House of Commons as he desires; and
 were it possible, that thro' their assistance, in
 conjunction with violence and tricks used in
 Elections and Returns by the Court, such a

House

House of Commons might be obtained, as would be serviceable to *Arbitrary and Papal Ends*; yet neither the *King* nor they, would be nearer the compassing what is aim'd at; it being demonstrable that the *Majority* of the *House of Lords*, are never to be wrought over to justify this illegal Declaration; or to grant the *King* a Power of Suspending Laws, at his pleasure; nor to give their Assent to a Bill for Repealing the *Test Acts*, and the Statutes that enjoin and require the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. And if they should be so far left of God, and betray'd by those among themselves whom the *Court* hath gained, as to become guilty of so enormous an Act of folly and villany, and should the Election of the next *Parliament*, be the happy juncture they wait for, and the improving their interest, as well as the giving their own Votes, for the Choice of *Papists* into the *House of Commons*, be what they mean by an

See Mr. Alsop's Speech to the King.

essential proof of their Loyalty, and of the sincerity of their humble Addresses, and that whereby they intend to demonstrate, that the greatest thing they have promised, is the least thing they will perform for his Majesties service and satisfaction: as in that case, they

will deserve to forfeit all hopes of being forgiven; so it would be an infidelity to God and Men, and a cruelty to our selves and our Posterity, not to abandon them as betrayers of Religion; expunge them out of the Roll of Protestants; strip them of all that wherein free Subjects have a legal Right; and not to condemn them to the utmost Punishments, which the Laws of the Kingdom adjudg the worst of Traitors and Malefactors unto. There are some, who thro' hating of them, do wish their miscarrying and offending to so unpardonable a degree, that they may hereafter be furnished with an Advantage, both of ruining them, and the whole Dissenting party for their sakes. But as the love that I bear unto them, and the perswasion and belief I have of the truth of their Religious Principles, do make me exceeding solicitous to have them kept and prevented, from being hurried and transported into so fatal and criminal a behaviour; so I desire to make no other excuse for my plain dealing towards them, but that of Solomon, who tells us, that faithful are the wounds of a friend, while the kisses of an Enemy are deceitful; and that he who rebukes a man, shall find more favour afterwards, than he who flattereth with the tongue.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Since the fore-going Sheets went to the Press, and while they were Printing off, there is come to my hands a new Proclamation, Dated at Windsor, the 28. of June 1687. for granting further Liberty in Scotland, and which was published there by an Order of the Privy Council of that Kingdom, bearing Date at Edinburgh, the 3th. of July. This Supplication of one Proclamation after another in reference to the same thing, is so apporportioned and parallel to the late French method of

Emitting Edicts in relation to those of the Reformed Religion in that Kingdom, that they seem to proceed out of one Mint, to be calculated for the same End, and to be designed for the compassing and obtaining the like effects. For as soon as an Alarm was taken at the Publishing of some unreasonable and rigorous Edict, there used often to follow another of a milder strain, which was pretended to be either for the moderating the severities of the former, or to remove and

and rectify what they were pleased to call misconstructions unduly put upon it ; but the true end whereof was only to stifle and extinguish the jealousies, and apprehensions that the other had begotten and excited, and which had they not been calmed and allay'd, might have awakened the *Protestants* there to provide for their safety by a timely withdrawing into other Countries, if they had not been provoked to generous endeavours of preventing the final suppression of their Religion, and for obviating the ruin which that Court had projected against them, and was hastning to involve them under. Nor does my suspicion of his Majesty's pursuing the same design against *Protestants*, which the great *Louis* glories to have accomplished, proceed merely from that conjunction of Counsels that all the world observes between *Whitehall* and *Versailles* ; nor merely from the King's abandoning his *Nephew* and *Son-in-Law*, the *Prince of Orange*, and not so much as interposing to obtain satisfaction to be given him, for the many injuries, damages, spoils, and robberies, as well as affronts done him by that haughty *Monarch* ; when one vigorous application could not fail to effect it ; nor yet merely from that agreeableness in their procedures, thro' the *King of England's* imitating that foreign *Potentate*, and making the whole course that hath been taken in *France* the *Pattern* of all his actings in *Great Britain* ; but I am much confirmed in my fears and jealousies, by remembering a passage in one of *Mr. Coleman's Letters*, who as he very well knew what the then *Duke of York*, had been for many years engaged in, against our *Religion* and *Civil Liberties*, and under what Vows and Promises he was, not to desist from prosecuting what had been resolved upon and undertaken ; so he had the confidence to say that his Master's design and that of the *King of France*, was one and the same ; and that this was no less, as he farther informs us than the extirpating the *Northern Heresie*. Had the *King of England* acted with sincerity from that noble Principle, that conscience ought not

to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of meer Religion, as he would delude weak and easie people to believe ; and had not all his Arbitrary and illegal proceedings in granting *Liberty to Dissenting Protestants*, been to subserve and promote other designs, which it is not yet seasonable and convenient to discover and avow ; he would have then acted with that conformity to the Principle he professeth to be under the influence and Government of, and with that consonancy and harmonious agreeableness, in all the degrees of Indulgence, vouchsafed to those of the *Reformed Religion* in *England* and *Scotland*, that differ from them of the established way ; that there would have needed no second *Proclamation* appoynting new measures of Liberty and Favour to *Scotts Dissenters*, seeing they would have had it granted them at first in the same latitude and illimitedness, that it was bestowed upon the *English Nonconformists*. But when *Princes* carry on and pursue mischievous designs, under the palliations of Religion, publick good, and the Right of Mankind ; it comes often to pass thro' adapting their methods to what they mean and intend, and not to what they pretend and give out, that their crafty projections, by being not sufficiently accommodated to their purposes, prove ineffectual to the compassing what was aim'd at ; and this forceth them to a new game of falsehood and subtilty, but still under the old varnish and gloss, and obligeth them to have recourse to means that may be more proportioned than the former were, for their reaching the End that they ultimately drive at. Thence it is that those *Rulers*, who are engaged in the prosecution of wicked and unjustifiable designs, are necessitated not only to apply themselves to opposite Methods towards different Parties, and those such as must be suited and appoynted to their discrepant interests, without the accommodatting of which they can neither hope to mould them to that tame and servile compliance, nor work them up to that active and vigorous abetting of their malicious and crafty projections

Oions as is necessary for the rendring them
 successful; but they are forced to vary their
 proceedings towards one and the same *Party*,
 and that as well when the ways they have
 acted in towards them are found inadequate
 to the End unto which they were calculated,
 as when the mischief hid under them comes
 to be too soon discovered. This weak and
 short-sighted people fancy to arise from an
 uncertainty in *Princes* Councils, and from
 their being at no consistency with them-
 selves; but they who can penetrate into
 affairs and that do consider things more nar-
 rowly, can easily discern, that all this va-
 riation, diversity, and shifting of methods
 in *Rulers* actions, proceed from other cau-
 ses, and that it is their stability and perseve-
 rance in an illegal and wicked design, that
 compels them to those crooked and con-
 trary Courses, either for the gaining the
 unwary and ill-applied concurrence of their
 Subjects, to the hastning distress and deso-
 lation upon themselves, or for the throwing
 them into that lethargy, and under that su-
 pineness, as may hinder them from all endea-
 vours of obstructing and diverting the evils,
 that their Governours are seeking to bring
 upon them. Nor is there a more certain
 indication, of a *Princes* being engaged in a
 design, contrary to the good and happiness
 of the *Society*, over which he is set; than
 his betaking himself to illegal ways, upon
 pretence of promoting the ease and bene-
 fit of his people; or according as he finds
 his Subjects to differ in their particular in-
 terests, his applying himself to them in me-
 thods, whereof the contrariety of the one
 to the other, renders them the more pro-
 per and adapted to ensnare the divided fa-
 ctions, through accosting each of them with
 something that they are severally fond of.
Legal means are always sufficient to the pur-
 suing and compassing *Legal Ends*: and what-
 soever is for the general good of the *Communi-
 ty*, may either be obtained by courses,
 wherein the generality find their united in-
 terest and common felicity, or else by appli-
 cation to a *Parliament* freely and duly chosen,

which as it represents the whole politick
 Society, so there may be expected most com-
 passion and tenderness, as well as wisdom
 and prudence, for redressing the grievan-
 ces, easing the troubles, and providing for
 the benefit and safety of all that are wrapt
 up in and represented by them. And as every
Prince, who sincerely seeks and pursues the
 advantage of his People, will so adjust and
 attemper all his actions towards them, that
 his whole carriage shall be uniform, and
 all the exercises of his Governing power,
 meet in the benefit of the *Community*, as so
 many lines from a *circumference* uniting in
 their *Centre*; so there needs no other proof
 that these two or three late *Actions* of His
Majesty, which a foolish sort of men are
 apt to interpret for favours and to ac-
 count them effects of compassion and kind-
 ness; are but to conceal his malice, and to
 subserve as well as cover some fatal and
 pernicious design, that he is carrying on
 against his *Protestant Subjects*, than that while
 he is gratifying a few of them in one thing,
 he is at the same time robbing all of them
 of many; and that while he is indulging the
Dis-senters with a Freedom from the *Penal
 Laws* for matters of *Religion*, he is invading
 the *Properties*, and subverting the *Civil Rights*
 of the three Nations, and changing the whole
 Constitution of the Government. He that
 strips us of what belongs unto us as we
 are *English* and *Scots Men*: cannot mean ho-
 nestly in the favours he pretends to vouch-
 safe us as we are *Christians*; nor can he that
 is endeavouring to enslave our persons, and
 to subject our Estates to his Arbitrary lust
 and pleasure, intend any thing else by this
 kindness granted to *Fanatics* in *Matters of
 Religion*, than the dividing them from the rest
 of the People, in what concerns the *Civil
 Interest* and external happiness of the *Com-
 munity*, and to render them an engaged Fa-
 ction to assist and abet him in enthralling
 the Kingdoms. Whosoever considers the
 whole Tenor of his *Majesties* other Actions,
 in proroguing and dissolving *Parliaments*,
 when he finds them uncompliant with his

Papish and *despotical* Ends; his keeping on foot a formidable *Army*, against all the *Laws* of the Land, and upon no other intention, but to maintain him in his *Usurpations* over our *Rights*, and to awe us into a tame and servile submission to his *Prerogative*; His filling all places of *Judicature*, with weak as well as *Treacherous* Persons, who instead of administering Justice may be the *Instruments* of *Tyranny*; his robbing Men of their *Estates*, by judicial forms, and under pretence that *nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, after they have been quietly enjoyed by the Subjects for several hundred years; his advancing none to *Civil* and *Military* Employ, but whom he hath some confidence in, as to the finding them ready to execute his *despotical* injunctions; and his esteeming no persons *Loyal* and *faithful* to himself, save those who are willing to betray their *Country*, and be *Rebels* and *Traytors* against the *Legal Constitution*: I say whosoever considers all this, and a great deal more of the same Hue and complexion, cannot imagine (unless he be under a judicial blindness and a strange infatuation) that any thing arriving from the *King*, tho it may be a matter wherein they may find their present ease and advantage should proceed from compassion and good will to his *Protestant* Subjects, but that it must be only in order to promote a distinct interest from that of his people, and for the better and more easie accomplishing of some wicked and unjustifiable design. And tho his *Majesty* would have us believe, that the reasons moving him to the Emission of this 21 *Proclamation*, were the *sinistrus Interpretations* which either have, or may be made, of some *Restrictions* in his former; yet it is not difficult even without being of his *Privy Council*, to assign a truer motive, and a more real and effectual cause of it. For as that of the 12th of *February*, came forth attended with so many limitations, not easie to be digested by men of wisdom or honesty, lest if it had been more unconfined and extensive, and should have opened a Door for all *Scotch Dissenters* to have gone in and taken the be-

nefit of it, the generality of *Protestants* in that Kingdom, abstracting from the *Bishops*, *Curates*, and a few others, should have joined in the *separate* interest, and thereby have become an united Body against *Popery*; but upon finding that hardly any would purchase their freedom from the *Penal Laws*, at so dear a rate, as to do things so unbecoming Men and Christians, as the conforming to the *Terms* therein prescribed obliging them unto; and that as they of the *National Communion* were alarm'd and disgusted, so few or none of the *Dissenting fellowships* were pleased; and that both were not only angry at the many illegal favours, and threatening advantages, bestowed upon the *Papists*, but were grown so sensible of the design carrying on against the *Protestant Religion*, and the liberties and privileges of the Subject, that tho they could not renounce their respective tenets in the matters wherein they differed, yet they were willing to stifle their heats and animosities, and to give that encouragement, aid, and assistance to one another, as was necessary for their common safety: upon these considerations, his *Majesty* (if he would have spoken sincerely) ought to have said, that he had published this *New Proclamation*, in order to hinder *Scotch Protestants* from uniting, for their mutual defence, against *Turkish Tyranny*, and *Romish Idolatry*, and in hopes thereby to continue and exasperate their undue and passionate heats, and to keep them not only in divided and opposite interests, but to make them contribute to the suppressing and ruining each other, or at least to look on unconcernedly, till he have ripened his designs against them both, and be prepared for extirpating the *Reformed Religion*, and for subverting the fundamental as well as *Statute Laws*, and for bringing such to the stake and Gibbet, as shall have the integrity to assert the one, or the courage to plead for the other. And yet in this *Last Proclamation*, wherein he grants a more illimited freedom, than in the former, and promiseth to Protect all
in

In the exercise of that Protestant Religion, as he disdainfully and ignominiously calls it; there is a clause that may discourage all honest men from owning their Liberty to the Authority that bestows it, and from which it is derived and conveyed to them. For not being satisfied to superstruct his pretended Right, of Suspending, Stopping, and Disabling Laws, upon his Sovereign Authority, and Prerogative Royal, but as knowing that these give no such pre-eminence and Jurisdiction over the Laws of the Kingdom, he is pleased to challenge unto himself an Absolute Power, as the source and spring of that exorbitant and Paramount Claim, which he therein exerciseth and exerts. And forasmuch as Absolute Power, imports his Majesties being loose and free from all ties and restraints, either by fundamental Stipulations, or superadded Laws; it is very natural to observe, that he allows the Government under which we were born, and to which we were sworn and stood bound, to be hereby subverted and changed, and that thereupon we are not only absolved and acquitted, from the Allegiance and fealty, we were formerly under to his Majesty, but are indispensably obliged by the ties and engagements that are upon us, of maintaining and defending the Constitution and Government, to apply our selves to the use of all means and endeavours against him, as an Enemy of the people, and a subverter of the legal Government, wherein all the Interest he had, or could lawfully claim, was an official Trust, and not an Absolute Power or a despotical Dominion, the first whereof he hath deposed and abdicated himself from, by challenging and usurping the latter. And should any Scots dissenter, either in his entrance upon the Liberty granted by this Proclamation, or in addressing by way of thankfulness for it, take the least notice of these freedoms flowing from the King, which cannot be done, without Recognising this Absolute Power in his Majesty as the fountain of it, he is to be lookt upon as the worst of Traitors, and deserves to be proceed-

*ed against both for his accession unto, and justifying the subversion of the Laws, Liberties, and Government of his Country, and for betraying the Rights of all free-born men. For those few Reflections in the fore-going Sheets, which this New Proclamation may not only seem to render useless, and frustrate the end whereunto they were intended, but may make the publishing any animadversions upon that, which the King by departing from, does himself Censure and condemn, be esteemed both a failure in ingenuity and candor, and a want of regard to those Measures of Justice, which ought to be observed towards all men, and more especially towards Crowned Heads; I shall only say that as the Proclamation arrived with me too late, to hinder and prevent the communication of them to the publick; so I have this farther to add in justification of their being published, that it will thereby appear, that what his Majesty styles *sinistrous Interpretations made of some Restrictions mentioned in his former*, are no other than the just, natural, genuine, and obvious constructions, which they lye open unto, and are capable of, and which a man cannot avoid fastning upon them, without renouncing all Sense and Reason. And while the King continues to disparage and asperse all sober and judicious Reflections upon that Royal Paper, by charging upon them the unjust and reproachful Character of *sinistrous Interpretations*; it is necessary as well as equal, that the whole matter should be plainly and impartially represented to the World, and that the decision be remitted and left to the understanding and unbiased part of mankind who are the calumniators and Slanderers, they who accuse the Proclamation of importing such principles, consequences, and tendencies, or he and his Ministers, who think they have avoided and answered the imputations fastned upon it, when they have loaded them with hard and uncivil terms. For tho he be pleased to assume to himself an Absolute Power, which all are bound to obey without reserve, and in the virtue of which he*

he *Suspends, Stops, and Disables* what Laws he pleaseth, yet I do not know but that his Intellectuals being of the size of other mens, and that seeing neither his Sovereignty, nor *Catholicness*, have vested in him an inerrability, why we may not enter our plea and demur to the dictates of his Judgment, tho we know not how to withstand the efforts of his *Power*. Nor shall I subjoin any more, save that whereas his *Majesty* Declares so many Laws to be disabled to all *Intents and purposes*, he ought to have remembered, that beside other *Intents and purposes* that several of them may hereafter serve

unto: as the *Papists* may possibly come to have experience; there is one thing in reference to which, he cannot even at present, hinder and prevent their usefulness and efficacy, and that is not only their raising and exciting all just resentments in the minds of free-born and generous men, for his challenging a Power to *Suspend and Casare* them, but their remaining and continuing *Monuments* of his Infidelity to the Trust reposed in him, of his departure from all promises made at and since his entering upon the Government, and of his invading and subverting all the Rules of the Constitution.

FINIS.
